

**JOURNAL OF THE  
EUROPEAN ĀYURVEDIC SOCIETY**

*Editors*

RAHUL PETER DAS

RONALD ERIC EMMERICK

*Editorial Board*

Rudi Paul Labadie (Netherlands)

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Volume 4 (1995)

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## CONTENTS

### Articles

- GERRIT JAN MEULENBELD: The Many Faces of Āyurveda . . . . . 1
- THIERRY DEROIN, JINADASA LIYANARATNE: Plant Names and  
Phytomorphological Terminology in Āyurvedic Science . . . . . 11
- KENNETH GREGORY ZYSK: *Aṣṭāṅgasan̄graha*, Kalpasthāna III:  
Translation and Notes . . . . . 26
- MINORU HARA: A Note on the Sanskrit Word *Svastha* . . . . . 55
- TORU YAGI: On Vārttika 1 on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.4.24 . . . . . 88
- WALTER SLAJE: *Ṛtú-*, *Ṛtv(i)ya-*, *Ārtavá-*. Weibliche "Fertilität"  
im Denken vedischer Inder . . . . . 109
- SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA, YADUENDRA SAHAI: Gushing  
Mercury, Fleeing Maiden: A Rasaśāstra Motif in Mughal  
Painting . . . . . 149
- KLAUS MYLIUS: Kokkokas *Ratirahasya* übersetzt und erläu-  
tert (II) . . . . . 163
- SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA: Apropos *Mallikā* . . . . . 194

### Review Articles

- RAHUL PETER DAS: Paths Straight and Crooked to Indian Medical  
Knowledge [Review of: *Paths to Asian Medical Knowledge*, ed.  
Charles Leslie, Allan Young] . . . . . 196
- SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA: Where is the *Romarāji*?  
[Review of: *Medical Literature From India, Sri Lanka and  
Tibet*, ed. G. Jan Meulenbeld] . . . . . 207
- ALBRECHT WEZLER: On the Problem of the Contribution of  
Ascetics and Buddhist Monks to the Development of Indian  
Medicine [Review of: Kenneth G. Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing  
in Ancient India. Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery*] . . . . . 219

### Reviews and Notices

- RAHUL PETER DAS: Kṛṣṇacaitanya Ṭhākura, *Cikitsā bidhāne  
tantraśāstra* . . . . . 229
- ANDREW WILLIAM WEAR: Poonam Bala, *Imperialism and Medicine  
in Bengal. A Socio-Historical Perspective* . . . . . 234
- RAHUL PETER DAS: K.H. Krishnamurthy, *A Source Book of  
Indian Medicine: An Anthology* . . . . . 236

## CONTENTS

RAHUL PETER DAS: Priya Vrat Sharma, <i>Ṣoḍaśāṅgahṛdayam. Essentials of Āyurveda. Text with English Translation</i> . . . . .	238
JØRGEN ØSTERGÅRD ANDERSEN: Beatrice Vogt Frýba, <i>Können und Vertrauen. Das Tovil-Heilritual von Sri Lanka als kultur-eigene Psychotherapie</i> . . . . .	239
<i>Other Publications Received</i> . . . . .	243
<i>Addresses of the Contributors</i> . . . . .	252



# The Many Faces of Āyurveda\*

GERRIT JAN MEULENBELD

When one reads Sanskrit medical texts from various periods, one cannot but be struck by a remarkable continuity of thought and practice on the one hand, and equally remarkable changes on the other. Just as striking is the contrast between a tendency towards consensus and a tendency towards divergences in opinion.

Since numerous authors, especially in our own times, have emphasised the unchanging aspects of Āyurveda, it seems natural to study the other side of the coin as well.

To start with, I want to be clear about my point of departure in the study of Āyurveda and its literature. Āyurveda is in my view a medical system that, having gradually evolved on Indian soil, is intimately connected with Indian culture as a whole. I take much interest in the way in which Āyurveda came into being, how it developed, changed, and maintained itself, adapting again and again to altered circumstances. The task of trying to gain some insight into these historical processes is an arduous one. One way of facilitating this insight is, in my view, the comparison of Āyurveda with other medical systems. The most suitable counterpart of Āyurveda for comparative purposes is Greek medicine, which resembles it in many respects, being based on a humoral theory and having a long history.

The beginnings of Āyurveda as a medical system are more obscure than those of Greek medicine. Indian medical literature does not start with writings that are comparable with those of the Hippocratic corpus, which consists of a large number of treatises, embodying very diverse points of view and theories. In contrast to this, the Indian literature begins with two comprehensive treatises, the *saṃhitās* bearing the names of Caraka and Suśruta. Fortunately, these treatises belong to different schools, which results in numerous divergences of opinion between the two and in different attitudes towards medicine as a science. The *Cara-ka-saṃhitā*, which deals mainly with internal medicine, is notable for the attention it pays to the philosophical foundations of medicine. The *Su-*

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\* Speech delivered on the 4th of January 1990 on receipt of the A.L. Basham Medal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Asian Medicine at the Third International Congress on Traditional Asian Medicine at Bombay.

*śrutasamhitā*, conversely, is less preoccupied with philosophy, being a treatise that belongs to the surgical school, and surgeons are known to be, in ancient India no less than in our own days, less prone to philosophical speculations than other medical specialists.

The relationship between medicine and philosophy thus proves to vary from early times onwards. It is worth considering whether this relationship may not be a secondary development as it was in ancient Greece, where medicine developed as an independent art, separate from philosophy. The *Carakasamhitā* and *Suśrutasamhitā* contain numerous passages that seem to indicate that philosophical concepts did not fit in well with medical doctrines. The *Carakasamhitā* also clearly shows the eclectic attitude towards philosophical systems that is typical of physicians in general. The *samhitā* of Suśruta even advocates explicitly this eclectic and tolerant attitude towards widely diverging world views (*Śārīrasthāna* 1.11). Later, in the age of the great commentators, the scene has evidently changed. Authors, in particular some of them, like Cakrapāṇidatta for example, devoted much energy to the interpretation of the classical texts in agreement with philosophical doctrines that had become authoritative. A one-sided picture of post-classical literature would emerge by giving this trend too much weight. A large part of the later literature conveys the impression that medical authors were no longer much interested in philosophy. Other parts of it reflect the great diversity of philosophical and religious thought in various periods of Indian history. A remarkable feature is, for example, the almost complete lack of impact of the Yoga-system on medicine. One single text, the anonymous *Āyurvedasūtra*, testifies to an individual effort to integrate Yoga and Āyurveda; this remained an exception and did not have any influence on subsequent developments. Far more significant were Tantrism and Śaivism, both closely connected with alchemy and iatrochemistry. From the twelfth to thirteenth century onwards, Indian medical literature shows that a varying amount of elements derived from alchemy were used, resulting in all kinds of mixtures, the components of which are not always compatible. Among the non-Hindu authors, the Jainas composed medical treatises adapted to their creed. These works are said to be based on texts belonging to the Jaina canon, but do not, however, deviate considerably from the common stock of Āyurvedic literature, except for their materia medica, which had to conform to Jaina tenets. It is even hard to distinguish treatises by Buddhist



authors from those by their Hindu colleagues, with the exception of invocations of figures from the Buddhist pantheon.

In general, the role of religion in medical literature varies considerably. The *Carakasamhitā* is a good example of a treatise in which religion is conspicuously present, as is philosophy. Some later works incorporate verses or entire chapters on disorders regarded as the fruits of evil actions committed in previous lives, but this never became a marked feature, which is understandable since disorders of this type are not amenable to medical treatment. Exceptions do occur, however. A treatise, called *Virasimhāvaloka*, composed towards the end of the fourteenth century, deals extensively with this subject. Mantras, and in later texts also yantras, occur regularly, though not frequently, except in works of Tantric inspiration, such as Nārāyaṇa's *Tantrasārasaṅgraha*. Magical elements show a similar distribution and are found in particular in Tantric works, as well as in specialised treatises such as Nāgārjuna's *Kakṣapuṭa*. As to astrology, its relation to medicine is not close, although in a few exceptional texts like the above-mentioned *Virasimhāvaloka* it is given ample scope. In more recent times, we can observe that during the revival of Āyurveda in the nineteenth century, much thought was given to the integration of Āyurveda, philosophy, and religion. This is a striking feature of the extensive commentary on the *Carakasamhitā* by Gaṅgādhara Kavirāj, the greatest representative of this movement. The most recent literature does not show this tendency any longer, being characterised by a secularisation of Āyurveda.

After this digression on the vicissitudes of the relationship between medicine on the one hand, and philosophy and religion on the other, I shall turn to medicine proper. Taking a closer look at the *saṃhitās* of Caraka and Suśruta, we notice efforts towards a coherent body of medical theory without this aim being completely achieved, which is a fortunate state of affairs for the medical historian. Besides their inconsistencies, a fascinating aspect of these *saṃhitās* is their preservation of a considerable number of old theories, which are still referred to, though these are refuted by the authoritative teachers who figure prominently in them. The available evidence points to a great diversity of views in the period anterior to the establishment of the classical *saṃhitās*. In this it must have resembled the formative period of Greek medicine. Regrettably, this pre-classical period has left us no complete texts or even substantial fragments of them, but, nevertheless, the references found in the *saṃhitās* themselves, the quotations and all sorts of remarks in the

commentaries, and a few small fragments of early texts, show that this diversity was a reality. Disagreements and clashes of opinion occurred on a large number of issues, both theoretical and practical. A much debated theoretical issue, for example, was whether or not blood was to be regarded as a *doṣa*. There were numerous differences of opinion on practical points, especially on the details of the preparation of compound medicines.

Apart from all these early disagreements in the formative period of Āyurveda, the number of differences between the views expressed in the *Carakasamhitā* and *Suśrutasamhitā* is considerable, many of these even being irreconcilable. It is therefore no surprise that, in the course of time, just as in the Graeco-Roman world, there was an increasing need to construct a more unitary system of medicine. The demand was met by Vāgbhaṭa, who probably lived in northwestern India about A.D. 600. The work he composed, the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā*, although based in large measure on the *samhitās* of Caraka and Suśruta, heralds a new era by introducing a consistent system of medicine, with the added advantage of being couched in elegant Sanskrit verse. In spite of the importance of the subject, the construction of Vāgbhaṭa's treatise and the motivation behind his choices, have not yet been studied in detail, although much information on this issue can be found in a book by Prof. P.V. Sharma, called *Vāgbhaṭavivecana*. An extremely interesting topic is the influence of Vāgbhaṭa and the subsequent fate of his work. As opposed to what one would expect, his treatise was not generally welcomed and accepted, and only became authoritative and very popular in certain parts of India, especially in the south. A remarkably large number of authors from India's Dravidian-speaking areas have drawn extensively upon Vāgbhaṭa's *samhitā* in composing or compiling their own medical treatises. A few examples are the *Parahitasamhitā*, Śrīnivāsa's *Cikitsātilaka*, and works on materia medica such as the *Aṣṭāṅganighaṇṭu*, *Madanādinighaṇṭu*, and *Abhidhānamañjarī*. Characteristic of Vāgbhaṭa's fate is that, to this day, his work has not been translated into English, whereas, on the other hand, the Tibetans rendered it into their own language at an early date.

To be sure, Vāgbhaṭa was the first author to present a new system of medicine, but shortly afterwards attempts in the same direction were made by others. One of these was Ravigupta. Yet, in spite of its merits, his *Siddhasāra*, which was much more concise than Vāgbhaṭa's work, did



not succeed in finding a wide audience. The Tibetans, again, took notice of it and translated this *Siddhasāra*.

A Bengali author who lived a couple of centuries after Vāgbhaṭa was more successful, especially in northern India. His name was Mādhava. His system of pathology, the *Rugviniścaya*, usually called *Mādhavanidāna*, evidently gained the upper hand within a short time. In contrast to the treatises by Vāgbhaṭa and Ravigupta, Mādhava's work is a compilation of verses taken from earlier sources, more often from Caraka and Suśruta than from Vāgbhaṭa and Ravigupta. The cornerstone of his success may have been his systematic and eclectic mind, manifest in his treatise.

From the beginning of the second millennium after Christ onwards, the Āyurvedic literature can therefore be divided into two main streams, dominated either by Mādhava's system of pathology or by Vāgbhaṭa's system. A third part of this literature, quite considerable in its extent, and very interesting too, consists of works by authors who were obviously dissatisfied with both and accordingly attempted to improve on them or to develop ideas of their own.

In the field of therapy the situation was completely different. Those who followed Vāgbhaṭa could employ his ways of treatment, but the majority of the physicians had to choose a therapeutic manual since the *saṃhitās* of Caraka and Suśruta were evidently not often used for that purpose. Collections of prescriptions and formulas, also containing sundry rules with respect to treatment, had circulated among practitioners since early times. Some early examples, like the Bower Manuscript and the *Yogaśataka*, have been preserved. Characteristic of these therapeutic manuals or compendia is that their contents have been taken from a wide variety of sources, thus reflecting a rich medical literature, most of which has been irretrievably lost, due to the very success of some of these new manuals. One such work was compiled by the author of the *Mādhavanidāna*, but in contrast to his compendium on pathology, it evidently did not appeal to most of his colleagues and was almost forgotten. Vṛnda's *Siddhayoga*, probably dating from about A.D. 900, acquired higher repute, yet was eclipsed by Cakrapāṇidatta's *Cikitsā-saṅgraha* about two centuries later. A large number of this type of treatise was compiled or composed in later times, even up to the present day, all of them adapting or borrowing from a great variety of sources.

A new branch of Āyurveda suddenly appears in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This branch, called *Nāḍīsāstra*, is concerned with diagnostics and prognostication by means of the examination of the pulse. The abrupt appearance of this procedure, present for the first time in the *Śārṅgadharasamhitā*, poses a still unsolved problem to medical historians because of the obscurity of its origins. The medical literature posterior to Śārṅgadharma shows that feeling the pulse was accepted as one of the standard elements in the examination of a patient, yet I feel that *Nāḍīsāstra* did not become fully integrated with Āyurveda, since most treatises contain only few verses on the subject, while, on the other hand, a separate class of monographs on pulse lore came into existence. The reasons for this development can only be conjectured. Pulse lore may have been experienced as an extraneous element, its practice may have been left to specialists, or the obstacle may have been that its main concern was with prognosis. The same process can be observed with regard to the *ariṣṭas*, the signs foreboding death. The early *saṃhitās* deal at large with this subject, which is neglected in later medical treatises, while a separate type of texts appears, monographs on signs announcing death, often bearing the title of *Kāla-jñāna*.

Besides the examination of the pulse, several other procedures were added to the already recognised traditional ones in the examination of a patient. The inspection of the urine, called *Mūtraparīkṣā*, not completely unknown in the early *saṃhitās*, became more widespread, and a new element was introduced, the *tailabindu* method. This procedure, consisting of letting a drop of oil fall on the surface of the urine and examining the shape it assumes, is more relevant to prognostics than to diagnostics. It appears for the first time in the *Cikitsāsārasaṅgraha* of Vaṅgasena, whose verses on the subject are incorporated or adapted in part of the later literature. Treatises posterior to Vaṅgasena and Śārṅgadharma show the gradual development of a systematic approach to the examination of the patient, resulting, from about A.D. 1500 onwards, in what is called *Aṣṭasthānaparīkṣā*, the eightfold examination, consisting of the examination of the pulse, urine, faeces, tongue, voice, skin, eyes, and face or general appearance. The origin of this systematic approach, which came to be generally adopted, remains unknown.

These developments that can be deduced from the medical literature reveal only a glimpse of the changes that took place in the course



of time in the practice of Āyurveda. Other facets of the process of transformation of Āyurveda are the decline of surgery and, closely bound up with it, of anatomical knowledge. Surgical procedures like blood-letting and cauterisation fell into disuse. Appreciable losses can also be observed in the field of the botanical knowledge of physicians.

A major change, already referred to, came about by the blending of Āyurveda and Rasaśāstra, medicine and alchemy, a conspicuous feature since the times of Cakrapāṇidatta and Vaṅgasena, and becoming more marked since Śārṅgadharma. This blending of two originally separate sciences is characteristic of the history of Indian medicine, since it is absent from Western humoral medicine until the times of Paracelsus. Study of the Indian sources reveals that it was a gradual process. Moreover, the amount of fusion between the two sciences varies considerably in the works of different authors. Those who held on to Vāgbhaṭa's teachings were generally averse to the new ways of treatment.

The processes which led to the blending of medicine and alchemy remain obscure. The same applies to the origins of alchemy itself. We do not know where it came from, and when and where it began to develop on Indian soil. However that may be, it is a very old science in Indian civilisation, as it is elsewhere.

Alchemy produced its own body of literature consisting of a substantial number of texts. It is partly very technical, but several of these texts contain medical sections, abounding in recipes, which are also found in medical treatises of the mixed type I have referred to. For that reason the Rasaśāstra literature cannot be neglected by the medical historian. The absence of medical theory in Rasaśāstra literature is striking. The basic Āyurvedic concepts are not dealt with and diseases not described. The *doṣas* are, however, frequently mentioned, and the names of diseases are the same as in Āyurveda. A noteworthy feature is that most of the formulas are employed against a vast array of disorders, although one also comes across more specific ones. Another notable feature is the accent on *Rasāyana*, the science of longevity, on *Vājīkaraṇa*, aphrodisiacs, and even on the acquisition of an incorruptible body, not subject to decay. It is surprising that iatrochemistry, i.e. alchemy applied to medicine, was so easily incorporated in Āyurveda, because in many ways it conflicts with it.

The developments sketched so far may have been purely internal, without influences from outside, but contacts with other cultures may also have contributed to them.

The culture that had a definite influence on Āyurveda was that of Islam. The Muslims brought with them their own system of medicine, derived from the Greeks. Both systems interacted and borrowed from each other. Remarkable is the absence of changes in the theory. The borrowings that can be detected are restricted to the practice of medicine. A number of drugs used by the *hakīms* were adopted by the Indian *vaidyas* and remained part of their materia medica, while the reverse process took place as well. These developments have not been studied in detail. The texts edited so far convey the impression that it was more widespread in northern than in southern India, and that the followers of Vāgbhaṭa were rather immune to it. One of the contributions of Islamic medicine was probably the introduction of a new type of medicinal preparation, called *arka*, a word of Arabic origin. The term *arka*, which designates a preparation made by means of a still, appears for the first time about A.D. 1200 in Āyurvedic literature in the writings of Soḍhala. Later, at a so far undetermined date, *arkas* became the subject of a monograph, entitled *Arkaprakāśa*, and attributed to a mythological figure, Rāvaṇa. A large number of substances derived from Islamic medicine are mentioned in this work. *Arkas*, however, never became a commonly used type of pharmaceutical preparation, and remained rare in Āyurvedic literature. An isolated phenomenon is the composition of works in Sanskrit on Islamic medicine. The reverse process, including translations, was probably more extensive. Examples of works on Islamic medicine in Sanskrit are two treatises by Mahādeva, the *Hikmatprakāśa* and *Hikmatpradīpa*, written in the eighteenth century, both abounding in Arabic and Persian medical terms. The borrowing of drugs from Islamic medicine was not restricted to the first centuries of contact between the two systems, but was a continuing process. Some treatises composed as late as the nineteenth century are full of them, such as, for example, Kṛṣṇarāma's *Siddhabheṣajamaṇimālā*. Very rare, on the other hand, are diseases, or simply names of diseases, which are borrowed from Islamic medicine. An example is *munnatākhyaroga*, a venereal disease described in Śaṅkara's *Vaidyavinoda*, composed in the seventeenth century.

Contacts between Āyurveda and Western medicine began in the sixteenth century. In the same period a new disease appears in Indian medical sources, namely *phiraṅgaroga*, i.e. syphilis. Some Europeans who resided in India developed a keen interest in Indian medicine and its materia medica. Famous examples are a Dutchman, van Rheede tot



Drakenstein, and a Portuguese doctor, García da Orta. In that way Indian drugs became known to the Western world. The Westerners, from their side, introduced new plants into India, of European and South American origin, several of which were of medicinal value. As a result new drugs were incorporated in the Indian pharmacopoeia. An interesting process, not yet sufficiently studied, is the utilisation, since these times, of newly introduced medicinal plants under old names, while the originally employed botanical species passed into oblivion. These processes form part of a development that went on during the centuries, and that is, for example, still clearly visible in a nineteenth-century work, the *Śāligrāmanighaṇṭubhūṣaṇa*, belonging to a very large medical encyclopedia, the *Bṛhannighaṇṭuratnākara*.

Besides these changes in the materia medica, we can observe influences of Western medicine on the Indian system of nosology. New diseases, derived from Western medicine, begin to crop up in an increasing number in Sanskrit medical texts dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A good example from the eighteenth century is Govindadāsa's *Bhaiṣajyaratnāvalī*, while the same trend is represented in the nineteenth century by works like Kṛṣṇarāma's *Siddhabheṣajamaṇimālā* and Binod Lal Sen's *Āyurvedavijñāna*. The latter treatise has also adopted numerous notions from Western anatomy and physiology.

The nineteenth century is the age of the revival of Āyurveda and its professionalisation. Hand in hand with this revival went a process of resecularisation of Āyurveda, as rightly stressed by Charles Leslie. An interesting question is therefore which type of Āyurveda was revived, and, related to this, which type was being practised in that period, especially in northern India, and, more in particular, in Bengal, where the movement of revival originated and from where it spread. In practice, Āyurveda was undoubtedly of the syncretic type just sketched, whereas the revivalist ideology asserted firmly that Āyurveda had declined due to foreign influences, thus creating the necessity of a return to the ancient texts. An ambiguous situation developed, which is reflected in the literature of the period. On the one hand one observes a renewed interest in the classical *saṃhitās*, which were repeatedly printed, while, on the other, there was no break with the preceding period to be seen in the works compiled or composed in the nineteenth century. The renewed interest in the classical medical treatises emerges, for example, from the very elaborate Sanskrit commentary on the *Carakasamhitā*, written by probably the most eminent representative of

the revival, Gaṅgādhara, a resident of Bengal, born in 1789, and a very prolific author. The most characteristic feature of the medical literature of the nineteenth century consists, however, of essentially the same type of syncretism that was already present in preceding centuries, but reinforced now by the influx of elements from Western medicine. These foreign influences became still more pronounced as a result of the professionalisation of Āyurveda and its consequences, such as the establishment of Āyurvedic Colleges. These developments, beginning in the nineteenth century and going on in the present one, led to a gradual transformation of Āyurveda, and gave it a new face, the features of which cannot easily be delineated on the basis of the contemporary medical literature.

Besides, there is a shortage of studies on the actual practice of Āyurveda, the texts used by the practitioners, and the curricula of the Āyurvedic Colleges. A distinct element of the new face of Āyurveda appears to be a renewed and sustained pursuit of a unitary theory, with a strong emphasis on the doctrine of the three *doṣas*, unfortunately without making clear which parts of the elaborate and complex theory are still adhered to, and on which texts the modern views are based. Some parts of the old heritage, in particular those connected with religion and magic, are disavowed, and other parts, especially those dealing with nosography, are, for better or worse, made to agree with Western medicine. Studies on contemporary methods of treatment often describe Āyurvedic and Western drugs being used side by side, but purer types of Āyurvedic therapy are not yet completely extinct.

The available information on the actual situation shows clearly that Āyurveda is going through a period of far-reaching changes. Whatever the future may have in store, I am convinced that the rich heritage of Āyurveda will not easily be obliterated and disappear from Indian soil, because the long history of Āyurveda gives evidence of its flexibility and adaptability to ever changing circumstances.



# Plant Names and Phytomorphological Terminology in Āyurvedic Science

THIERRY DEROIN, JINADASA LIYANARATNE

Plants which form the bulk of the materia medica (*dravyagūṇa*) of Āyurvedic medicine have a particular nomenclature in that each plant bears several names, and at times the same name applies to different plants. This multiplicity of plant names has often baffled modern botanists and pharmacists although the class of literature consisting of the *nighaṇṭus* gives the synonyms of plants, sometimes in more than one language, along with the healing properties of the plant. A case in point is a Sri Lankan version of the *ŚrīVāsudevanighaṇṭu* which gives the plant names in Sanskrit, Sinhala and Tamil, along with the medicinal properties of the plants. Commentaries to Āyurvedic texts, too, contain material elucidating the Indian plant names. However, the relationship between the *nighaṇṭus* and the commentaries remains to be examined.<sup>1</sup>

Priyavrat Sharma, one of the foremost contemporary Indian specialists in *dravyagūṇa*, has pointed out seven factors on which Āyurvedic plant names are based, as explained by Narahari, the author of the *RājN* (ca. 17th century A.D.) (*Sharma I*, p.19):<sup>2</sup>

(1) Convention (*rūḍhi*), e.g. *āṭarūṣaka* (ADHATODA VASICA Nees), *guḍūcī* (TINOSPORA CORDIFOLIA (Willd.) Miers ex Hook.f. et Thomson), *ṭuṇṭuka* (flowers have the appearance of bells: *Sharma II*, p.469), (OROXylum INDICUM (L.) Benth. ex Kurz).

(2) Specific property (*prabhāva*), e.g. *krimighna* (kills worms, vermifuge) (EMBELIA RIBES Burm.f.), *hayamāra* (kills horses) (NERIUM OLEANDER L.).

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following observation of R.E. Emmerick ('On Ravigupta's *Gaṇas*', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 34.1971: 363-375): 'It is common to find that medical texts which are not accompanied by commentaries are followed by vocabularies. It may be that these vocabularies, called in Sanskrit *nighaṇṭu*- or *nighaṇṭuka*-, are earlier than the commentaries and that the latter merely represent the application of the *nighaṇṭus* to particular passages or it may be that the *nighaṇṭus* are merely late summaries of the material scattered through the commentaries. The matter has not yet been investigated' (p.364).

<sup>2</sup> The authors of plant names are indicated in this paper according to the abbreviations given in the following publication: R.K. Brummitt and C.E. Powell (ed.), *Authors of Plant Names*, Kew 1992.

(3) Regional names/habitat (*deśyokti*), e.g. *māgadhī* (grows in Magadha) (PIPER LONGUM L., JASMINUM AURICULATUM Vahl), *vaidehī* (grows in Videha) (PIPER LONGUM L.), *kāliṅga* (grows in Kāliṅga) (HOLARRHENA PUBESCENS (Buch.-Ham.) Wall. ex G.Don), *kairāta* (grows in Kirātadeśa, i.e. 'the region of the Kirātas') (SWERTIA CHIRATA Buch.-Ham.).

(4) Characteristic signs (*lāñchana*), e.g. *rājīphala* (striped fruits) (TRICHOSANTHES DIOICA Roxb.), *citraparṇī* (variegated leaves) (URARIA PICTA<sup>3</sup> (Jacq.) Desv.).

(5) Assimilation (*upamā*), e.g. *śālaparṇī* (leaves are similar to those of the Sal tree, i.e. SHOREA ROBUSTA C.F.Gaertn.) (DESMODIUM GANGETICUM (L.) DC.), *meṣaśṛṅgī* ([fruits] are similar to rams' horns) (DOLICHANDRONE FALCATA Seem.),<sup>4</sup> *ajakarṇa* ([the two accrescent sepals of the fruit] are similar to the ears of goats) (DIPTEROCARPUS TURBINATUS C.F.Gaertn.).

(6) Active property (*vīrya*), e.g. *ūṣaṇa* (calorific) (PIPER NIGRUM L.), *kaṭukā* (pungent) (PICRORHIZA<sup>5</sup> KURROA Royle ex Benth.), *madhuka* (sweet, GLYCYRRHIZA<sup>6</sup> GLABRA L.).

(7) Appellation (*itarāhvaya*), e.g. *śakrāhva* (called Śakra) (HOLARRHENA ANTIDYSENTERICA Wall.), *kākaḥvā* (called a crow = *kāka-mācī*) SOLANUM NIGRUM<sup>7</sup> L. (SC, pp.102;86).

<sup>3</sup> Latin *picta*, like Skt. *citra*, means 'variegated'.

<sup>4</sup> Generally, this is identified with GYMNEMA SYLVESTRE R.Br. (R.N. Chopra et al., *Glossary of Indian medicinal plants*, New Delhi 1956, p.129, *Sharma* I, p.103, *Meulenbeld*, p.591). The examination of the specimens in the Herbarium in Paris showed that the fruits do not have the appearance of rams' horns; they are elongated but not curved. Balwant Singh and K.C. Chuneekar (SC, pp.321f.) have already pointed this out and suggested the identification with DOLICHANDRONE FALCATA Seem. They also observed that 'in virtue of its inclusion in the Sālasārādi gaṇa of Suśruta (Sū. 38.8), Asanādi gaṇa of Vāgbhaṭa (Ah. Sū. 15.19) and the repeated reference to the use of its bark and flowers, [it] should be a tree species contrary to the general belief in favour of a climber *Gymnema sylvestre* R.Br.' Further, as pointed out by SC, it should also be noted that the commentator Ḍalhaṇa, 'great explorer and medico-botanist' (11th-12th centuries) identified *meṣaśṛṅgī* with *karkaṭaśṛṅgī*, PISTACIA CHINENSIS Bunge.

<sup>5</sup> Greek πικρός (*pikrós*) 'pungent', ῥίζα (*rhíza*) 'root'.

<sup>6</sup> Greek γλυκύς (*glukús*) 'sweet', ῥίζα (*rhíza*) 'root'.

<sup>7</sup> The epithet 'nigrum' refers to the black colour of the berries, corresponding to the colour of the crow signified in the Skt. name.



The above-mentioned criteria of taxonomy, especially the characteristic signs and assimilation (items 4 and 5) generally have a bearing on the morphology of the plants. Very often the characteristic sign or the assimilation is related to features of animals as evident in the above examples. One may add to them, from among many other examples, *haṃsapadī* ([leaves] similar to the — tender and red<sup>8</sup> — feet of geese or swans), whose synonyms *tripadā* and *tripādikā*<sup>9</sup> mean three-sided, i.e. triangular (ADIANTUM LUNULATUM Burm.). These names refer to the form of the terminal foliole of the frond, the red colour evokes the red sporangia. Some plant names directly refer to certain morphological traits as in the following examples: *kālaskandha* (having a black trunk) (DIOSPYROS MALABARICA (Desr.) Kostel.), *keśara* (*AbhT*:<sup>10</sup> ‘having hairy flowers’ or ‘flowers full of pollen’) (CALOPHYLLUM INOPHYLLUM L.), *dāruharidrā* (*AbhT*:<sup>11</sup> ‘wood is yellowish in colour’) (COSCINIUM FENESTRATUM (Gaertn.) Colebr.), *yugapatraka* (twin-leaved) (BAUHINIA<sup>12</sup> VARIEGATA L.), *raktaphalā* (*AbhT*:<sup>13</sup> ‘ripe fruits are of red colour, similar to the colour of lips’) (COCCINIA GRANDIS (L.) Voigt), *vikiraṇa* (spreading or expansive [leaves]) (CALOTROPIS PROCERA (Aiton) R.Br.), *śatamūlī* (having a hundred — i.e. a large number of — roots) (ASPARAGUS<sup>14</sup> RACEMOSUS Will.).

The research done in Europe pinpoints the scientific management of traditional Sanskrit data on plant names.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Identification and description of *Sharma* II, p.307.

<sup>9</sup> *RājN*, parpatādivarga 109.

<sup>10</sup> *Liyanaratne*, no.122. *AbhT* is a 14th-century sub-commentary written in Burma to the Pāli dictionary *Abhidhānappadīpika* (12th century).

<sup>11</sup> *Liyanaratne*, no.92.

<sup>12</sup> This genus name, while signifying the twin character of the leaves, connotes the two Bauhin brothers Gaspard and Jean who published important botanical works at the end of the 16th century.

<sup>13</sup> *Liyanaratne*, no.145.

<sup>14</sup> Derived from Greek σπεῖρω (*speirō*) ‘propagate, spread’, possibly an allusion to the propagation as ‘hundred roots’.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. (1) *Meulenbeld*, pp.520-611; ‘Appendix Four. Sanskrit Names of Plants and their Botanical Equivalents’, (2) R.P. Das, *Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume. Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda. Mit einem Nachtrag von G. Jan Meulenbeld zu seinem Verzeichnis ‘Sanskrit Names of Plants and their Botanical Equivalents’*, Stuttgart 1988, (3)

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the significance of the names and etymologies of some of the Āyurvedic medicinal plants in so far as such names are based on morphological observations. Four plants have been selected to this end: (1) NYCTANTHES ARBOR-TRISTIS L., (2) MUCUNA PRURIENS (L.) DC., (3) OPERCULINA TURPETHUM (L.) Silva Manso, and (4) IPOMOEA PES-TIGRIDIS L.

(1) NYCTANTHES ARBOR-TRISTIS L. (Verbenaceae) (Skt. *śephālikā*): This plant name was selected for discussion particularly because of the problematic nature of its identification as well as etymology. Its synonyms as given in the *Vśś* are: (1) *suvahā* ('carries well [the nectar]<sup>16</sup> = sweet-scented), (2) *nirguṇḍī* ('comes out of the envelope or case'<sup>17</sup>), (3) *nīlikā* (having dark flowers<sup>18</sup>), (4) *śīphālikā*, (5) *niśīpuṣpā* ('having night flowers'<sup>19</sup>), (6) *niśīpuṣpikā* (same meaning as 5), (7) *mallikā* ('carries perfume'<sup>20</sup> = sweet-scented), (8) *rajanīhāsā* ('night-smile' = flowering at night = 'night queen'), (9) *raktavṛntā* ([flowers] having a red pedicel), (10) *śuklāṅgī* ('white-limbed'), (11) *śītamāñjarī* ('whose cluster of blossoms is cool'), (12) *vijayā* ('the winner [of hearts or diseases?]', (13) *vātāri* ('enemy of [humoral] wind'), (14) *bhūtaveśī* ('delights living beings')<sup>21</sup>. The names *suvahā*, *śuklāṅgī*, *śītamāñjarī*, *vijayā*, *vātāri* and *bhūtaveśī* are given in the *RājN*, which adds also *aparājitā* ('not vanquished [in overcoming diseases]<sup>22</sup>, 'not obstructed by the assembly — scil. the contact — of beings'<sup>23</sup>). Priyavrat

R. Syed, *Die Flora Altindiens in Literatur und Kunst*, München 1990, and (4) A. Roşu, 'Les missionnaires dans l'histoire des sciences et des techniques indiennes (I). Un inédit jésuite sur la phytothérapie indienne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3.1993: 174-228.

<sup>16</sup> *suṣṭhu vahaty āmodaṃ suvahā* (Ramanathan I, p.257).

<sup>17</sup> *guḍād veṣṭanān niṣkrāntā nirguṇḍī* (Ramanathan I, p.257).

<sup>18</sup> *nīlapuṣpatvāt nīlikā* (Ramanathan I, p.257). MW explains the meaning of Skt. *nīla* as the "name of a dark colour, especially dark blue or dark green or black".

<sup>19</sup> Same meaning as the genus name NYCTANTHES: Greek νύξ, νυκτός (*núks*, *nuktós*) 'night', ἄνθος (*ánthos*) 'flower'.

<sup>20</sup> *mallate gandham. malyate vā. malla dhāraṇe* (BhD, p.152).

<sup>21</sup> *bhūtāni viśaty āhlādayatīti bhūtaveśī* (Ramanathan I, p.257).

<sup>22</sup> *rogādijitattā [na parājitā] aparājitā* (AbhT).

<sup>23</sup> *bhūtavrātenāpratihatā aparājitā* (Ramanathan I, p.275). This is however a syno-



Sharma gives another Sanskrit synonym, *pārijāta* (*Sharma* II, p.550).

The tree *śephālikā* is identified with *VITEX NEGUNDO* L. and *NYCTANTHES ARBOR-TRISTIS* L. (see e.g. *MW*). The first identification is due to a confusion with the problematic synonym *nirguṇḍī*. This is proof of the difficulties created by equivocal plant names.

The etymology of the Sanskrit name *śephālikā*, derived from *śepha*, is explained by *BhD* (*AmK* II.4.70) as ‘in this, bees lie down’ (= frequented by bees). Here, the word *śepha* is considered as derived from √*śī* ‘to lie down’.<sup>24</sup> This is obviously a poetic explanation which does not enlighten us on the nature of the plant except that it confirms the fragrance of the flowers.

The word *śepha* can also be derived from *śiphā*, due to the strengthening (guṇation) of the vowel *i*. Now, according to the *AmK* (II.4.11), *śiphā* is a synonym of *jaṭā*, meaning ‘root of a tree; fibrous or flexible root’ as explained by *MW* and *Turner*.<sup>25</sup> The synonym *jaṭā* itself is also explained by *MW* and *Turner* as ‘a fibrous root, root (in general)’. The *Skdr* describes the word *śiphā* as ‘the entangled roots of a tree’,<sup>26</sup> giving as its synonyms *jaṭā* and *mūla* (‘root’). *Turner* gives a supplementary meaning ‘tangled boughs’, similar to the meaning given by Childers:<sup>27</sup> ‘the tangled branches of bamboos and other trees’. This last definition does not hold good in the case of the tree *śephālikā*. The general meaning of *jaṭā* is, of course, ‘a tangle’, referring especially to the ‘matted hair’ (of ascetics). This meaning is retained in the botanical explanation given below.

The *AbhT* explains the Pāli term *sephālikā* as ‘that which has *siphā*’.<sup>28</sup>

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nym of *āspota* (*CLITORIA TERNATEA* L.).

<sup>24</sup> *śerate śephā alayo ’syām*. This derivation may be explained as follows: √*śī* ‘to lie down’ → *śepha* (adjective: ‘lying down’) → *śepha* + *ali* ‘bee’ (‘bee lying down’) → *śephāli* with diminutive suffix *-kā* (feminine gender). The flowers are, in fact, of small size. We are thankful to Dr. Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat for this philological explanation.

<sup>25</sup> On the basis of a context in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*.

<sup>26</sup> *vṛkṣāṇām jaṭākāramūlam*.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Caesar Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language*, reprint New Delhi 1979.

<sup>28</sup> *siphā [ja]ṭā yassa atthi sephālikā*. *siphāṭā* is apparently a corrupt reading of *siphā jaṭā*. The reading given by Waskaduve Subhuti in his *Abhidhānappadīpikā sūci*, (Colombo 1893) is *sephā jaṭā*. One may also consider whether there is any link between the

Coming back to the noun *śepha*, the *Skdr*, quoting *AmK* II.6.76, explains it as 'the male organ' (*śiśna*), the same meaning given by *MW* with the additional sense of 'scrotum, the testicles'.<sup>29</sup> With reference to a plant, the 'male organ' would mean in the modern context the stamen and 'the scrotum or testicles' the fruit. The explanation *śephā jaṭā* of the *AbhT* in that case would mean 'having an entangled stamen or fruit'. This may be an allusion to the numerous and protruding nerves of the dry pericarp, excessively branched and arched along the margins, as in a leaf (see figure 2,1). The fruit is a 'coccarium' (*Spjut*, p.57), i.e. we have here two flat one-seeded fruitlets which split (dehisce) them into two valves for liberating the seeds.<sup>30</sup>

Another synonym of *śephālikā* is *kharapatraka* (*Meulenbeld*, p.549), composed of *khara* ('rough, hard'), *patra* ('leaves'), and *-ka* ('having'<sup>31</sup>). This name refers to the rough character of the leaf lamina, a correct but less specific trait than that indicated in the previous name. It is because of this characteristic that *Suśruta* (*Sū* 9.15) and *Vāgbhaṭa*<sup>32</sup> (*Ah*, Ut

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word *siphāṭā* of the *AbhT* manuscript and the word *sipāṭikā*, explained in *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (Oxford 1992) as the pericarp. As regards the final part of the word in question, the *AbhT* indicates the suffix *-ika*, and the insertion of *l* (*iko*, *la majjho*). The suffix *-ika* gives the meaning of possession, 'having'; the final vowel *a* is lengthened to *-ikā* to make it feminine. The semi-vowel *l* is interposed for the sake of euphony, in consonance with the rule 'y v m d n t r l āgama'.

<sup>29</sup> This meaning is based on a context in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>30</sup> However, in opting for this interpretation, we have stretched the meaning of the explanation, for according to the traditional method of the commentators, *jaṭā* which follows *śephā* is a synonym of the latter and thus a noun and not an adjective. Further, adjectives in Skt. and Pāli normally precede the noun in ordinary prose.

<sup>31</sup> The suffix *-ka* (masculine), *-kā* (feminine) is added to several plant names as a secondary form, examples being *aśvakarna(ka)* (*SHOREA ROBUSTA* C.F.Gaertn.), *go-kṣura(ka)* (*TRIBULUS TERRESTRIS* L.), *yugapatra(ka)* (*BAUHINIA VARIEGATA* L.), *vyādhi-ghāta(ka)* (*CASSIA FISTULA* L.), etc. Such variant forms are probably due to changes made to suit the metre (*metri causa*), as the *nighaṇṭus*, like most of the Āyurvedic texts, were versified to help memorising (mnemonic tradition of transmission).

<sup>32</sup> The dates of the early Āyurvedic texts are controversial. The late Professor Jean Filliozat deduced from historical data that the *Suśrutasamhitā* may be provisionally considered as belonging to the last centuries preceding the Christian era before coming down to us in a fixed form in the first centuries AD (*Filliozat*, p.12). *Vāgbhaṭa* is placed in the period between the 7th and 10th centuries by *Filliozat* (p.11) and in AD 600 by Ronald E. Emmerick (*The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta. Volume 1: The Sanskrit Text*, Wies-



9.5) have indicated the use [of the leaves] of this tree as an accessory surgical instrument (*anuśāstra*).<sup>33</sup>

The synonym *raktavṛntā* 'having a red stem' underlines another morphological characteristic.

At least two varieties are recognised, one with dark blue flowers, *nīlikā*, and the variety with white flowers. The *AbhT* specifies the former variety as '*kaṇha-puppha-sephālikā*' (*kaṇha* 'dark blue/black', *puppha* 'flowers').

(2) MUCUNA PRURIENS L. (Papilionaceae): One of the Sanskrit synonyms is *śūkaśimbī* 'having pods (*śimbī*) with awn (*śūka*)'<sup>34</sup>. This term refers to the claw-like end of the legume (see figure 2,2a).

However, the other form of the name, *śukaśimbī* (see footnote 34), 'having parrot-like pods' (*śuka* 'parrot') has an allied significance. The legume tip looks like a hook, the result of the alteration of the styler base during maturation. In longitudinal section, this region calls to mind a parrot's beak (see figure 2,2b). The difference between *śūkaśimbī* and *śukaśimbī* is only in the vowel /u/, which is long in the former and short in the latter. The name currently accepted in Indian texts is however the former (*AmK* II.4.87, *Sharma* II,p.569).

(3) OPERCULINA TURPETHUM (L.) Silva Manso (Convolvulaceae): Two Sanskrit names for this plant are *trivṛtā* and *tripuṭā*. The latter means 'having three (*tri*) pockets (*puṭa*)'. The 'three pockets' are noticeable in the fruit. That meaning is confirmed by the name *trivṛtā* or *trivṛt*, according to the etymologies given in the *AmK* (*√vr* 'to cover'). The etymology in *BhD* means 'covered with three component parts', 'covers three component parts'.<sup>35</sup> The etymology given in *Ramanathan* means 'covered with three pockets'.<sup>36</sup> The *AbhT* on the other hand explains the

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baden 1980, p.1).

<sup>33</sup> Pointed out by SC (p.407) with the comment that the leaves of the *śephālikā* have a scabrid surface and that they are used for rubbing the diseased parts as in leprosy etc.

<sup>34</sup> The *Vś*s enumerates 54 synonyms, and the *RājN* 26 (guḍūcyādivarga 50-52). Some of them are merely different forms of the same name, e.g. *śukaśimbī*, *śukasimbīḥ*, and *śūkaśimbīḥ*, *śūkaśimbā*.

<sup>35</sup> *tribhir avayavair vṛtā; trīn avayvān vṛnoti. vṛñ varāṇe* (p.164).

<sup>36</sup> *tribhiḥ puṭair vriyate ācchādyata iti trivṛtā. vṛñ varāṇe* (I, p.278).

the Pāli term *tivutā* as 'having a triple streak round the bark'.<sup>37</sup> Observation of the bark shows, in fact, three sinew-like streaks. The botanical significance of these meanings is explained in the sequel.

The fruit of this species is very peculiar (see figure 2,3). Botanically it may be called a 'ceratium' (*Spjut*, p.55), that is, a capsule which splits like a pyxidium, with a separation of the epicarp from the endocarp. This membranous endocarp encloses the seeds for some time and is itself surrounded by five accrescent sepals.

The fruit morphology is so characteristic that we cannot be astonished at the extensive use of a term referring to it. In the Latin terminology, OPERCULINA refers to the splitting mode (dehiscence), that is, to the *brief fall of the fleshy opercule*<sup>38</sup> (stylar base). The synonym *vidalā* (*Meulenbeld*, p.600) signifies 'much more persistent features: 'expanded, blown', referring to the accrescent calyx with spread-out sepals; it may also mean 'split'<sup>39</sup> (a likely allusion to the separation of the two envelopes of the fruit).

The term *tripuṭā* 'having three pockets' describes rightly the endocarp form (see figure 2,3) and thus points out a very common feature, namely, *three* seeds evolving from an ovary containing four ovules. That has been wholly neglected in modern floras, though illustrations may be enlightening (e.g. in Heine,<sup>40</sup> pl.8 drawn by G. Chypre). We checked this 'three pockets' characteristic in the Herbarium of Paris: it is a widely spread trait for *this* species (OPERCULINA consists of about 20 species). This diagnostically valuable feature accords with the *AbhT* explanation of *trivṛtā* as 'three-winged bark', another frequent trait of the stem in this species, due to the spreading of collenchyma, a supporting tissue precisely located just beneath the epidermis.

The insistence on the numeral three is perhaps a mnemonic process. We can also observe that, even in the calyx, *three* large sepals cover externally the two small ones.

In this connection, we may consider the origin of the epithet TUR-

<sup>37</sup> *tisso j <v> utā tacarājiyo yassā [sā] tivutā.*

<sup>38</sup> Latin *operculum*.

<sup>39</sup> On these meanings of *vidalā*, see *MW*, *Skdr* and Apte's *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

<sup>40</sup> H. Heine, *Convolvulacées. Flore de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et Dépendances* 13, Paris 1984.



PETHUM as a latinised form of the Arabic *turbad* or *turbid*, itself derived from Skt. *trivṛt*,<sup>41</sup> used of purgative and irritant substances.<sup>42</sup> In ornithology, *turbitean* pigeons are Eastern varieties whose heads are covered with *three* spots.

The terms *śyāmā* and *kālā* (*AmK* II.4.108f.) refer to a black variety, specified in the *AbhT* as *kaṇhativutā* (Pāli *kaṇha*, Skt. *kṛṣṇa* 'black'), as opposed to the white variety, specified as *sukkativutā* (Skt. *śuklatrivṛtā*). The *Vśś* specifies three species with their synonyms: white (*trivṛt*, *vṛkākṣī*, *suvahā*, *tribhaṇḍī*, *tripuṭā*), black (*śyāmā*, *pāḷindī*, *suṣeṇikā*, *kālā*, *masūravidalā*, *ardhacandrā*, *kālameṣikā*, *pāḷindhī*, *kālameṣikā*) and tawny (*vyāghrādanī*, *kuṭaruṇā*, *niḥsrutā*, *trivṛtā*, *aruṇā*, *kaliṅgā*, *paripākinī*).<sup>43</sup> The reference is to the colour of the tubercule; these varieties, not botanically described hitherto, are distinguished by their pharmacological actions (*prabhāva* in Narahari's analysis quoted above on p.11). It may be pointed out that the *AbhT* explains the Pāli term *sāmā* (Skt. *śyāmā*) as 'diminishes the body and the disease by the action of purging',<sup>44</sup> obviously taking into consideration the action and not the morphology of the plant. However, the noun *śyāmā* simply means 'black,

<sup>41</sup> According to H.P.J. Renaud and Georges S. Colin, *Tuhfat al-Aḥbāb. Glossaire de la matière médicale marocaine*, Paris 1934, p.7. See also Patrick Hanks (ed.), *Encyclopedic World Dictionary*, Beirut 1974. The Arabic name is *turbad* in the former and *turbid* in the latter.

<sup>42</sup> The aforesaid properties of *trivṛtā* are mentioned in Āyurvedic texts. Cf.

— Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Kalpasthāna II.2: 'Of the drugs for purgation, *trivṛt* is chief among the roots ... . Now, the root of the *trivṛt* is twofold: reddish and blackish. With regard to this [distinction], the red [variety] is astringent, sweet, pungent in digestion, [and] rough ... . Because of its being a pleasant purgative, it is prescribed for children, the elderly, those who are delicate, and those with soft bowels. And [this] is meant by the word *trivṛt*' (quoted from Kenneth G. Zysk, 'Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha, Kalpasthāna II: Translation and Notes', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3.1993, pp.319-351; see pp.321-322).

— *trivṛt tiktā kaṭuṣṇā ca krimiśleṣmodarārttijit*

*kuṣṭhakaṇḍūvraṇān hanti praśastā ca virecane*

(*RājN*, pippalyādivarga 167; *tiktā* 'bitter', *kaṭu* 'pungent', *uṣṇa* 'hot', *prasastā ca virecane* 'considered good with regard to purging').

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the quotation from the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* in footnote 42 where only two species are recognised.

<sup>44</sup> *sā tanukaraṇe. virecanakaraṇena kāyaṃ rogaṃ ca sayatī ti sāmā* (√*sā* 'to reduce').

dark coloured’.

(4) IPOMOEA PES-TIGRIDIS L. (Convolvulaceae) (see figure 2,4): This species is a good example of the integration of a South Asian plant name into European botanical taxonomy. Linnaeus (*Species Plantarum*, Stockholm 1753, p.162) just used as epithet a Latin translation of the Sinhala term *divipahuru*, previously given by Paul Hermann.<sup>45</sup> That Dutch botanist of German birth proposed the first description: *Convolvulus zeylanicus villosus pentaphyllos & heptaphyllos minor, Pes tigrinus*. He explained beneath: ‘... *Hinc a Zeylanensibus accepit nomen Divipahuru, sive pedis Tigridis*’ (‘There, [this plant] is named by the Singhalese “Divipahuru”, that is tiger’s paw’).

The Sinhala term *divipahuru* means ‘the claws (*pahuru*) of tigers’ (*divi* ‘tiger’). According to a description, with illustration, given by Kiriāllē Nāṇavimala,<sup>46</sup> the leaves of this creeper are made of five “fingers”, having the form of a tiger’s paw. Hence the name PES-TIGRIDIS (Latin *pes* ‘foot, paw’, *tigris* ‘tiger’). In this case, only the round shape of the leaflets is roughly considered, whereas the 7-palmate leaves are quite common.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that there are two types of Āyurvedic plant names, *determinative* and *confirmative*. The former designate quite precise and specific botanical elements (here, numerical

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<sup>45</sup> Paul Hermann, *Horti Academici Lugduno-batavi Catalogus*, ed. Cornelius Bousteyn, Leiden 1687, p.184. Paul Hermann (1646-1695) arrived in Ceylon as a physician in 1672 and left for the Netherlands in 1679 to succeed Arnold Syen as Professor of Medicine and Botany at the Leiden University. Hermann’s herbarium was lost for nearly 30 years after 1711, when it was last seen at an auction. In 1744, receiving from August Günther, the Danish Apothecary-Royal, a parcel containing four volumes of herbarium specimens and an album of about 400 plant drawings, Linnaeus recognised three of the volumes as the source of the *Musaeum Zeylanicum* (1717), which listed Hermann’s herbarium and which is supposed to have been edited by William Sherard, editor of Hermann’s papers after the latter’s premature death in 1695 and published as *Paradisus Batavus* (1698). Linnaeus’ *Flora Zeylanica* (1747) was the result of this happy discovery. (Ray Desmond, *The European Discovery of the Indian Flora*, Kew/Oxford 1992, pp.156-158). See also Edmund Peiris, ‘Paul Hermann: The Father of Ceylon Botany’, in: *Studies Historical and Cultural*, Colombo 1978, pp.158-176.

<sup>46</sup> *Deśiya vaidya śabdakoṣaya*, Ratnapura 1970, p.263.



and qualitative traits), as in the case of *tripuṭā* ('having three pockets'), *divipahuru* ('tigers' paws') discussed above. They help in the correct identification of plants. The latter refer to elements applicable to several plants, but helpful in confirming the identification. Examples are: *raktavṛntā* (red stem), *kālā*, *śyāmā* (black).

The specific property (*prabhāva*) on which some plant names are based according to Narahari's analysis (above) is also an indication which helps in the identification of plants. This factor is abundantly used in the most valuable work of Balwant Singh and K.C. Chuneekar (SC). Their discussion on the identification of *meṣaśṛṅgī* is an eloquent example (SC, pp.320-323).

With regard to the criterion of assimilation (*upamā*) in Narahari's analysis, the frequent reference to comparisons of the animal world deserves to be emphasized. This points to the popular origin of many Indian plant names. It may be recalled in this connection that even today, certain forest tribes in India are known for their empirical knowledge of plants.<sup>47</sup>

The verification of the botanical data revealed by Indian plant names and their etymologies against herbarium specimens helps in: (1) rectifying erroneous identifications such as *meṣaśṛṅgī* with *GYMNEMA SYLVESTRE* R.Br., (2) observing specific characteristics of plants as in the case of *śephālikā*, *tripuṭā*, *trivṛtā*, and (3) clarifying the significance of certain plant names as in the case of *śukaśimbī* (see figure 1).

The Greek genus names such as *PICRORHIZA* (pungent root), *GLYCYRRHIZA* (sweet root), *NYCTANTHES* (night flower), and the Latin specific names such as *PICTA* (variegated), *NIGRUM* (black), *TURPETHUM* (from the Skt. *trivṛt*, through Arabic *turbad/turbid*) are further proof of cross-cultural influences which were taking place between the Western and Eastern worlds from very early times.<sup>48</sup> It may be noted that the Sanskrit name *trivṛt* describing the *fruit* has been extended to the medicinal property (purgative), thus designating

<sup>47</sup> Cf.: 'There are professional castes who deal with the medicinal herbs, who have considerable knowledge of these plants, and who can throw much light where all other measures fail ...' (R.N. Chopra et al., *Indigenous drugs of India*, Calcutta <sup>2</sup>1958, p.22).

<sup>48</sup> From among the vast literature on the subject, reference may be made especially to the following publications of Jean Filliozat: (1) *Filliozat*, pp.199-215, (2) 'La valeur des connaissances gréco-romaines sur l'Inde', *Journal des Savants*, (Paris) avril-juin 1981, pp.97-135.

similarly active substances (even *mineral* and *powdered* ones<sup>49</sup>). The Arabic term *turbad/turbid* means the *root* of the plant or the *plant* itself. In this later development, the term has been latinized and introduced into the scientific nomenclature as an epithet, *turpethum*.

As PICRORHIZA KURROA (*katukā*), GLYCYRRHIZA GLABRA (*yaṣṭi-madhu*), NYCTANTHES ARBOR-TRISTIS (*śephālikā*) and OPERCULINA TURPETHUM (*trivṛtā*) are mentioned by Suśruta, the earliest of the Great Āyurvedic Triad (Bṛhatrayī),<sup>50</sup> their medicinal use in India dates from the first centuries preceding the Christian era at the latest. (See footnote 32).

To underline the attitude to be adopted in the use of traditional knowledge for purposes of modern science, we may conclude with the meaningful saying of the great Indian poet Kālidāsa (ca. 5th century) to the effect that 'everything is not good just because it is ancient, nor is everything<sup>51</sup> faultless just because it is modern'.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. the data given in the references in footnote 41.

<sup>50</sup> There are instances where the *Carakasamhitā* refers to the Dhanvantari (i.e. the Suśruta) school (*Filliozat*, pp.11f.). This could be taken to show that Suśruta preceded Caraka, as also reaffirmed by Kunja Lal Bhishagratna, *The Sushruta Samhita*, Vol. I, Reprint Varanasi 1981, pp.xf.

<sup>51</sup> Literally: 'a poem'.

<sup>52</sup> *purāṇam ity eva na sādhu sarvaṃ  
na cāpi kāvyam navam ity avadyam  
(Mālavikāgnimitra I.2).*

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AbhT</i>	The <i>Abhidhānappadīpikā-ṭīkā</i> (palm-leaf manuscript, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, shelfmark: Pāli 491).
<i>AmK</i>	<i>Amarakoṣa</i> , see <i>BhD</i> and <i>Ramanathan</i> .
<i>Ah</i>	<i>Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya</i> , ed. Hariśāstri Parādkar, reprint Varanasi 1982.
<i>BhD</i>	<i>Amarakoṣa</i> , ed. Bhānuji Dīkṣita, Bombay 1944.
<i>Filliozat</i>	<i>La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, ses origines et ses parallèles grecs</i> , Paris 1975.
<i>Liyanaratne</i>	Jinadasa Liyanaratne, 'South Asian flora as reflected in the twelfth-century Pāli lexicon <i>Abhidhānappadīpikā</i> ', <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> 20.1994, pp.43-161.
<i>Meulenbeld</i>	Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld, <i>The Mādhavanidāna and its Chief Commentary. Chapters 1-10. Introduction, Translation and Notes</i> , Leiden 1974.
<i>MW</i>	Monier Monier-Williams, <i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> , New Delhi <sup>2</sup> 1981.
<i>RājN</i>	<i>Rājanighaṇṭu</i> , ed. Āsubodha Bhaṭṭācārya and Nityabodha Bhaṭṭācārya, Calcutta <sup>2</sup> 1933.
<i>Ramanathan</i>	<i>Amarakoṣa</i> , ed. A.A. Ramanathan, Adyar 1971; 1978; 1983 (three volumes).
<i>SC</i>	Thakur Balwant Singh and K.C. Chunekar, <i>Glossary of vegetable drugs in Bṛhatrayi</i> , Varanasi 1972.
<i>Sharma</i>	Priyavrat Sharma, <i>Dravyaguṇa-vijñāna</i> , Varanasi <sup>6</sup> 1981; <sup>5</sup> 1981 (two volumes used here out of the complete work of five volumes).
<i>Skdr</i>	<i>Śabdakalpadruma</i> , Varanasi 1961.
<i>Skt.</i>	Sanskrit.
<i>Spjut</i>	R.W. Spjut, <i>A Systematic Treatment of Fruit Types</i> , New York 1994 (Memoirs of the New York Botanical Garden 70).
<i>Sū</i>	Sūtrasthāna.
<i>Turner</i>	R.L. Turner, <i>A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</i> , London 1966.
<i>Ut</i>	Uttarasthāna.
<i>Vśś</i>	<i>Vaidyakaśabdāsindhu</i> , ed. Umeśacandra Gupta, Varanasi/Delhi <sup>3</sup> 1983.



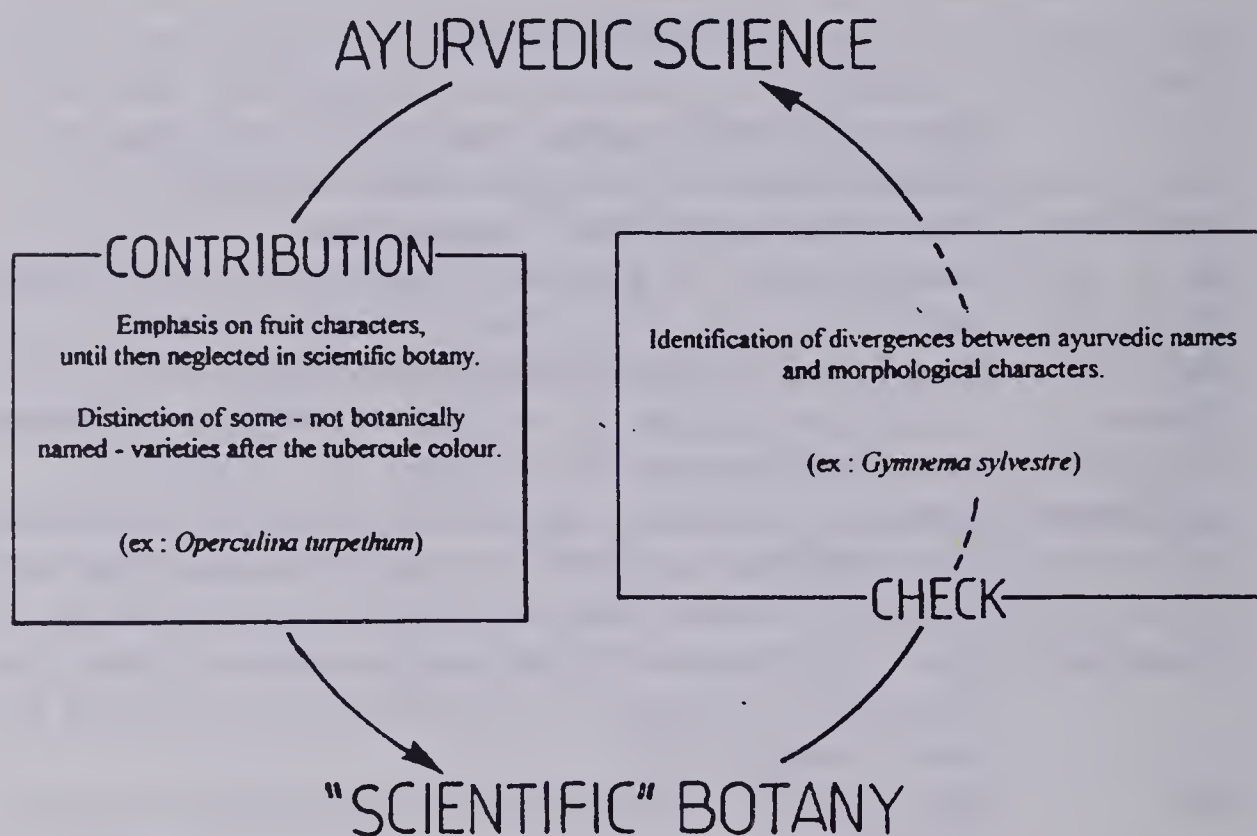


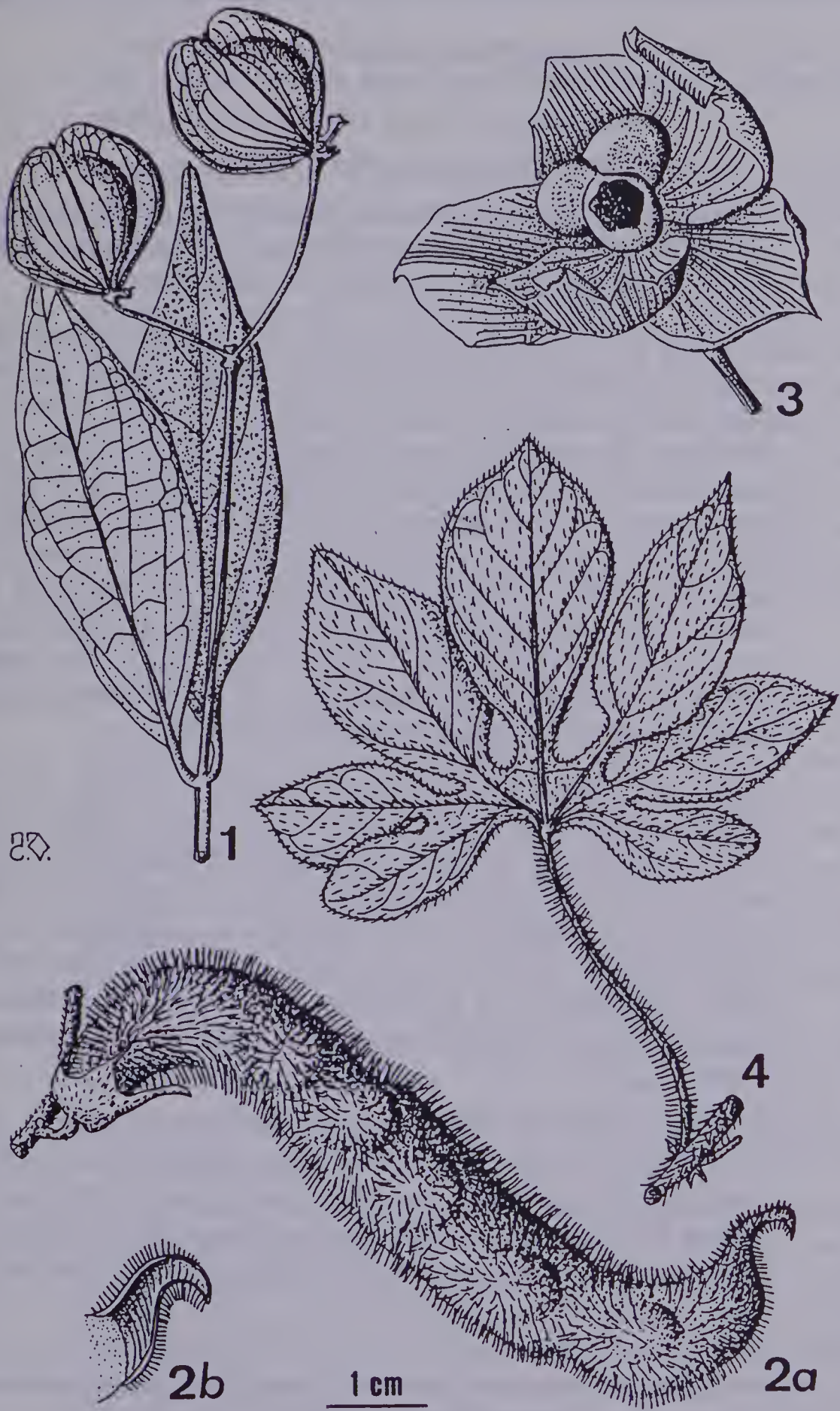
Figure 1 (above)

Sketch of reciprocal relationships between Āyurvedic Science and "Scientific" Botany.

Figure 2 (on facing page)

Some examples of quoted plants (Herbarium of Paris):

1. NYCTANTHES ARBOR-TRISTIS L. (Verbenaceae), tip of a branch with two fruits: (coccarium) *D. Prain, sine numero*, Botanical Garden of Calcutta, Parasnath, 21 Nov. 1891.
2. MUCUNA PRURIENS (L.) DC. (Papilionaceae), fruit: legume (a); detail of the inner of the legume tip after dehiscence (b). *Thomson, sine numero*, Bengal, received in Paris in 1859.
3. OPERCULINA TURPETHUM (L.) S.Manso (Convolvulaceae), fruit: ceratium. The operculum is already fallen. *Deroin, sine numero*, Nosy Bé, Madagascar, Dec. 1989.
4. IPOMOEA PES-TIGRIDIS L. (Convolvulaceae), leaf, (here, with seven leaflets). *Herbarium of Vaillant*, Ceylon, end of the 17th century.



# *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha*, Kalpasthāna III: Translation and Notes\*

KENNETH GREGORY ZYSK

[Thus (begins) the third chapter.]

- 1 Henceforth we shall expound the chapter called the successful treatment of mishaps from emetics and purgatives. So indeed declared the great sages beginning with Ātreya.
- 2 A severe or very cold emetic, given in insufficient dose or in excessive dose, goes downward when, in the case of the "peccant" humours being accompanied by undigested food, it is consumed by one who is very hungry, by one with very weak bowels, by one with slight [excitement] of phlegm, [or] by one who responds poorly to emetics. In that case, the desired [effects] are not attained and the "peccant" humours move from their seats. After having again quickly oiled that [patient], one should make [him] vomit by means of the [most] appropriate measure, according to the proper dosage and at the proper time, etc.; and duly noting the previous failure, [the physician] should avoid those things which cause mishaps.
- 3 In the case of one suffering from indigestion (*ajīrṇa*) [or] one with an abundance of phlegm, a very hot, very severe or too saline purgative, or another [purgative] medicine that is either unpleasant or [given] in excessive dose, proceeds upward. In that case, the mishap and [its] remedy are as previously mentioned [for the mishap of an emetic (i.e., oiling followed by proper purgation)]. If, afterwards, [the purgative] comes up, one should not administer a third dose, unless it is a pleasant linctus or pill.
- 4 In the case of one who has hard bowels (i.e., who is constipated) [or] one who has a very strong digestive fire, a medicine [given] in small [dose] or with little potency undergoes digestion like food in the upper or lower part [of the body]. In that case, the aroused humours, which are not expelled in due

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\* For the list of abbreviations and references, see pp.320f. of my translation of Chapter II in *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3.1993, pp.319-351.



course, cause uneasiness [in the patient]. One should make him, whose bowels have been [first] oiled (i.e., lubricated), consume a large [dose] of a strong medicine.

5 A medicine which is astringent, small [in quantity], not fresh, or dry, consumed by [a patient] who has not been oiled or sweated, or [a medicine] which has become fixed by cold treatments [and] one inhibiting [the dissolution of] the "peccant" humours, becomes an ineffective remedy. Therefore, in the case of [such an ineffective] emetic, one should once again make [the patient] vomit. In the case of [such an ineffective] purgative, one should make [the patient], who has been oiled and sweated, purge. Or, [one should make an oiled and sweated patient], who has an excess of a humour moving from its seat, [purge or vomit] on the third day. In both cleansing treatments, one should sweat [the patient], who has been smeared with oil mixed with salt, by both the hot poultice-method (*piṇḍa*) and the bed-method (*prastara*).

6 And when an emetic has not been administered to one who has been oiled and sweated, or when a weak purgative [is administered] to one being purged, who has consumed [the purgative] and whose "peccant" humours are accompanied by undigested food, there is, in the lower region, excessive heaviness (*guru*) and stiffness (*stabdha*) of the abdomen, piercing pain (*śūla*), and the retention (*saṅga*) of wind, urine and faeces. Having administered to him who has been given the ineffective treatment a non-oily enema with severe [medicines] accompanied by [cow's] urine, having given [him] food with the meat broth of wild (i.e., jungle) animals, having administered an oily enema with oil prepared with [madana-]phala, dāru and pippali, and also having oiled [him] with wind-destroying oils, one should again make [him] purge with severe [medicines].

7 In the case of one who has an excessive amount of phlegm, one who is over-oiled, one who has hard bowels [i.e., one who is constipated], or one who has a weak digestive fire, a weakly prepared drug, after having made the humours move quickly from their seat, produces stiffness (*jāḍya*), drowsiness (*tandrā*), diminished strength, and improper function of the limbs. [The

patient] should quickly vomit that [weak drug]. And one should cleanse with sharp and hot [medicines that patient] who has been oiled anew and whose digestive fire has been kindled by fasting.

- 8 A cold or dry drug, administered to one who has not completely digested one's food, to one who has [an accumulation of] wind and phlegm, to one whose body is dry, to one who has an accompanying condition of udāvarta, or to one who has a weak digestive fire, causes severe tympanitis (*ādhmāna*). In that case, the abdomen, because of the retention of impurities, has internal piercing pain (*śūla*) [and] swells up like a leather water-bag. There is fullness on both sides, pain in the head and the back, difficult breathing (*śvāsa*) and cough (*kāsa*), and pricking pain (*nistoda*) in the anal region and in the bladder. One should treat that [patient] with cures for udāvarta and obstructive abdominal swelling (*ānāha*), oil massage, sudation, suppositories, powders which increase the appetite (*dīpana*), and enema-therapy.
- 9 A strong drug, consumed by one who is emaciated (*kṣāma*), who has little strength, who has soft bowels or weak digestive fire, who is dry, who has not been oiled, or by one who has been sweated, although his "peccant" humours are accompanied by undigested food, after having corrupted the wind along with the bile, causes cutting pain in the rectum (*parikartikā*). In that case, [there is] cutting pain in the rectum (*parikartana*), along with burning (*dāha*) in the region of the navel, in the bladder, in the rectum, and in the penis, retention (*saṅga*) of wind, and restraint of impurities (*viṣṭambha*).
- 10 One should administer to that [patient] non-oily enema-therapy with slimy enemas combined with black sesamum (*tila*), madhuka and honey, or with the decocted milky sap of trees with milky sap. And to him who has been bathed with cold water [and] who has taken a meal with milk, one should administer oily enema-therapy with the clear part of clarified butter or with oil [prepared with] yaṣṭimadhuka. And in the case of one who is emaciated (*kṣāma*), every treatment that is sweet and promotes strength is prescribed.



- 11 When the "peccant" humours are accompanied by undigested food, fasting and appetisers, as well as light, dry and hot food and drink [are prescribed]. When the "peccant" humours are not accompanied by undigested food, light, alkaline and acidic [food and drink are prescribed]. When the "peccant" humours are accompanied by [excess] wind, one should employ sour gruel mixed with the bark of dāḍima in food and in drink; and one should drink clarified butter, followed by the juice of dāḍima, or the paste of sesamum seeds and devadāru with warm milk.
- 12 A low dose of a weak purifying [drug] or a mild oiling administered to one with hard bowels (i.e., who is constipated) [and] with excess "peccant" humours, after having made the humours move from their seats, does not [completely] expel [them]. Becoming [only] very slightly mixed with bile and phlegm, [that drug] flows continuously and causes restraint of the impurities (*viṣṭambha*), heaviness (*gaurava*), morbid swellings (*śopha*), itching (*kaṇḍū*), morbid pallor (*pāṇḍutā*), decay of the limbs (*aṅgasāda*), internal tumours (*gulma*) and piercing pain (*śūla*).
- 13 In that case, one should administer a non-oily enema with the decoctions of tiniśa, dhava, aśvakarṇa, palāśa, and balā, mixed with honey. One should cleanse with strong [drugs the patient] whose continuous discharge [of "peccant" humours] (*parisrava*) has been appeased and who has been freshly oiled. And when cleansed, one should use appetisers beginning with powders, and āsava- and ariṣṭa-drinks.
- 14 If, after having drunk the [purgative] drug, one either increases or suppresses the urge to evacuate, then dysentery (*pravāhikā*) is produced. In that case, the one suffering from dysentery (*pravāhamāṇa*) violently passes slimy white, black, or bloody red phlegm, accompanied by burning (*dāha*) and piercing pain (*śūla*) [in the lower regions]. One should treat him with the methods prescribed for continuous discharge (*parisrava*).
- 15 Because of the suppression [of the urges to evacuate] (*nigraha*), beginning with vomiting (*chardi*) and the ejection of medicine, in one who has consumed a [purgative] drug, [the

"peccant" humours], beginning with wind, become provoked and, after having attained the chest, bring about violent seizure in the chest (*hṛdgraha*). In that case, due to the burning pain (*upatāpa*) in the principal vulnerable spot (i.e., the chest), the patient is exceedingly oppressed by aches (*vedanā*). Afflicted with mental confusion (*moha*), hiccough (*hidhmā*), cough (*kāsa*), [excessive] salivation (*lālā*), piercing pain along the sides [of the chest] (*pārśvaśūla*), he, trembling (*vepathu*) [and] losing consciousness (*naṣṭasamjñā*), grinds his teeth; having his eyes turned up, he bites his tongue. [Those experts in seizure in the chest] call this [condition] 'Congestion [of the "peccant" humours] in the chest (*hṛdayopasarana*)'.

- 16 After having sweated with the pulse-sudation [the patient] who was previously given an oil-massage, the physician, not being confused, should immediately administer to him a strong *ava-pīḍa* head-purgation [and] an emetic with rice (*tanḍula*) water, mixed with *yaṣṭimadhuka*; or, when there is a predominance of phlegm, [an emetic] with pungent [emetic drugs]. Afterwards, he should remove the remaining "peccant" humours with digestives (*pācanīya*), and should apply enemas in accordance with the increased humour.
- 17 An overdose of a dry medicine, used by one who was not oiled or sweated, who does not observe celibacy (*abrahmacārin*), who suppresses the urge to evacuate, who has weak bowels, or who is very tender, agitates the wind because of over-purgation. Therefore, there is seizure of all the limbs. Because of that, there should be piercing pain (*śūla*) along the sides, in the back, in the pelvic region, in the nape of the neck and in the vulnerable spots, as well as fainting (*mūrchā*), dizziness (*bhrama*), trembling (*kampa*), stiffness (*stambha*), pricking pain (*nistoda*), splitting pain (*bheda*), cramps (*udveṣṭana*) and loss of consciousness (*samjñānāśa*). After having massaged that [patient] with oil [and] sweated [him] with pastes, one should administer an oily enema with oil decocted with *yaṣṭimadhuka*, and [give him] a regimen of wind-destroying food and drink.
- 18 The over-abundance of a severe drug, administered to one who has been oiled and sweated, who has a very delicate con-



stitution, or who is hungry, after having been completely expelled and after having liquefied the impurities and principal elements (*dhātu*), causes them to issue forth by means of the over-action [of the drug]. After having given that [patient] an oil massage with the recipe of a hundred-fold cleansing clarified butter (*śatadhautaghṛta*), one should check [the flow] with unctions, moistenings, immersion-baths and a regimen of food and drink, which are astringent, savoury and cold, and with linctuses, mixed with sugar and honey.

- 19 One should make [that patient] consume the course meal of parched paddy (*lājasaktu*) [combined] with candana, añjana, uśīra, goat's blood and cold water. And one should administer to him a slimy enema and an oily enema of clarified butter [obtained] from milk, or of the scum of clarified butter prepared with [drugs] from the sweet group. Likewise, one should employ medical prescriptions [effective in the treatment of] haemorrhagic disorders (*raktapitta*).
- 20 [However,] especially in the case of an over-action of an emetic, one should consume, along with clarified butter, white sugar and honey, the mantha-beverage with fruit juices. Or else, [one should consume,] along with honey, a liquid gruel or milk prepared with the new sprouts of the trees with milky sap. And in food, one should give milk prepared with the drugs which cause constipation.
- 21 And in the case of vomiting (*chardi*) along with eructation (*ud-gāra*), one should lick [the powder of] dhanikā, madhūka, madhurasā, mustā and añjana, with honey. In the case of the obstruction of speech (*vāksaṅga*), closing of the jaw (*hanusaṅga*) and affliction of wind, one should consume a weak (i.e., thin) rice-gruel, prepared with clarified butter and meat-broth, and administer oiling-therapy and sudation.
- 22 In the case of the inaccessibility (i.e., retraction) of the tongue [due to excessive vomiting], [one should give] oily, sour and salty gargles and mouth-washes, and savoury broths [made] of goat's meat. In addition, one should make [another person] eat sour fruits in front of that [patient].



- 23 But [in the case of the over-action of an emetic], one should push back in a protracted tongue, after it has been anointed with the paste of sesamum and drākṣā, or, after it has been smeared with the powder of the three pungents (*vyoṣa*) [mixed with] salt. One should press back the two protruded eyes, after they have been anointed with clarified butter. [And] one should make one who is unconscious listen to sounds of chants, reed-flutes and songs.
- 24 In the case of the over-action of a purgative, one should vomit, after having consumed rice-water mixed with honey. And one should consume with rice-water [drugs from the group] beginning with priyaṅgu, the barks of rodhra or dāḍima mixed with rasāñjana, the stamens of somavalka, kaṭphala, utpala, samaṅgā, or padma, or the barks of udumbara-wood or madhuka mixed with honey and sugar. And one should perform the cure for bloody diarrhoea (*raktātisāra*).
- 25 [In the case of the over-action of a purgative], after having lubricated, sweated and stiffened with astringent [drugs] a prolapsed (*niḥsrta*) rectum (*guda*), one should [carefully] push it back into [position]. And one should treat [the afflictions] beginning with the obstruction of speech (*vāksaṅga*), as previously [mentioned in the case of the over-action of an emetic].
- 26 And in both cases (i.e., the over-action of an emetic and of a purgative), for the sake of distinguishing between life[-blood] and haemorrhagic [blood] [when there is the issuance of blood], one should dip a white cotton swab or a [white] piece of cloth in the blood. When it has dried, if, after being washed with tepid water, it becomes pure white [as before], one should consider it as life-blood; but if it becomes [slightly] discoloured, it is haemorrhagic [blood]. Or, one may give food mixed with that [blood] to a dog or a crow. If it is eaten, it is called life[-blood]; if it is not eaten, [it is] haemorrhagic [blood] (*[rakta]pitta*).
- 27 And in the case of one [passing blood], who is afflicted with thirst (*trṣ*), fainting (*mūrchā*) and narcosis (*mada*), one should administer, until the last moment of life, the remedy destructive of bile and that mentioned in the case of the over-action

[of a drug]. Or, (And,) one should quickly consume, along with honey, the blood of animals beginning with the black antelope (*eṇa*), according to the method in the excessive issuance of blood (*atisrutarakta*). For it at once unites with the life[-blood]. Or, one should administer, in the form of a [non-oily] enema, milk boiled with *śyāmā*, *kāśmarya*, *madhuka*, *dūrvā* and *uśīra*, mixed with the clear part of clarified butter and *añjana*, [and then] cooled.

- 28 And also with respect to the remaining mishaps resulting from improperly administered emetics and purgatives, one should, after having scrutinised the "peccant" humours, etc., carry out a treatment appropriate to the affliction. And one should keep in mind [the chapter on] the successful treatment of mishaps of enemas (i.e., AsKa 6).
- 29 And thus with respect to both forms of purification (i.e., emetic and purgative), one should proceed according to the circumstances. For, cutting pain in the rectum (*parikartikā*) after a purgative is burning pain in the throat (*kṣaṇana*) after an emetic; continuous discharge (*parisrava*) in the lower region is the phlegmatic discharge (*kaphapraseka*) [in the upper region]; dysentery (*pravāhaṇa*) in the lower region is dry heaves (*śuṣkodgāra*) [in the upper region]. And on this subject, there exist [the following verses:]
- 30 A drug, [taken in] overdose [or in] low [dose], [taken] at the wrong time, not infused with [drugs] of equal strength, incorrectly processed, [or] old, will inevitably fail.
- 31 Indeed, one should not make [a patient experiencing] difficult vomiting, consume an emetic drug, nor [should one make a patient experiencing] difficult purging (or: a patient difficult to purge) [consume] a purgative drug. For in that case, it again destroys those two [resultant actions (i.e., purgation and emesis)].
- 32 In the case of one who has consumed a prescribed [purgative drug] which comes up mixed with phlegm, one should indeed make [the patient] who has vomited, cleansed his mouth with

- gargles, and has fasted, [again] consume [that prescribed purgative drug].
- 33 In the case of an obstructed "peccant" humour which has a weak flow over a long period of time, one should consume warm water. Tympanitis (*ādhmāna*), vomiting (*vami*), thirst (*tr̥ṣṇā*) and obstruction [of "peccant" humours] (*vibandha*) are quickly pacified by that [warm water].
- 34 If a [purifying] medicine, checked by the "peccant" humours, proceeds neither upward nor downward [and if there is tympanitis], along with eructation (*udgāra*) or piercing pain (*śūla*) in the limbs, then one should administer sudation.
- 35 In the case of eructation (*udgāra*) by one incorrectly purged, one should immediately evacuate the medicine. But in the case of the suppression of the urge to evacuate (*apravṛtti*), the physician should check the indigestion (*ajīrṇa*) [caused by the medicine] with very cold [moistenings, etc.].
- 36 At the time it is taken, medicine obstructed by phlegm becomes situated in the chest. When the phlegm is weakened, it proceeds [to the bowels] in the evening or at night.
- 37 When a [purgative] medicine has been digested [even without wind] by one who is both dry and abstaining from food, or else has come up indeed by [the action of] wind, it becomes situated [in the upper region of the body]. One should [immediately] drink another [medicine], along with a mixture of oil and salt.
- 38 If, when a [purifying] medicine is digested, there occur [morbid conditions] beginning with thirst (*tr̥ṣ*), mental confusion (*moha*), dizziness (*bhrama*) and fainting (*mūrchā*), then [another] medicine, which is sweet, cooling and destructive of bile, is recommended.
- 39 If, when [a medicine] is over-spread with phlegm, there occurs [excessive] salivation (*lālā*), dislodging of "peccant" humours from their seats in the chest (*hṛllāsa*), restraint of the impurities (*viṣṭambha*), and horripilation (*romaharṣa*), then, a



medicine, which is strong, severe, pungent, etc., and destructive of phlegm, is beneficial.

40-41 Opposite (*pratikūla*) movement (*gati*) [of purifying drugs], [incomplete] digestion (*pāka*), obstruction [of impurities] (*grathitva*) along with heaviness (*gaurava*), movement of the humours from their seats (*doṣotkleśa*), severe tympanitis (*ādhmāna*), cutting pain in the rectum (*parikarta*), continuous discharge (*parisrava*), dysentery (*pravāhikā*), seizure in the chest (*hṛd-graḥaṇa*), general seizure in all the limbs (*parigraha*), together with the discharge of the principal elements (*dhātusrava*) — these are called the twelve mishaps due to the various failures in the two types of evacuation (i.e., purgatives and emetics). They [have been] followed by their [appropriate] cures.

42 And when various [other] mishaps are produced by an error in [the application of] purifying measures, one should endeavour to make [the treatment of] these comply precisely with this example [of the course of treatment]. Indeed, for the successful treatment [of mishaps], the textbook is the beacon of knowledge for both the [right] and the wrong methods.

[Thus (ends) the third chapter called the successful treatment of mishaps from emetics and purgatives.]

### Notes to Chapter III

#### Verse 1

**Variants:** AhKa 3(1); cf. Mooss, 72; CaSi 6.1-2; SuCi 34.1-2.

Tarṭe omits *nāmādhyayaṃ* and *iti ... maharṣayaḥ*. Ca omits *nāmādhyāyam* and states that the teaching was declared by Lord Ātreya; Ah reads *vamana... siddhikalpaṃ* (var. as As); Su has *cikitsita* ‘treatment’ for *siddhi*, and states that the teaching was propounded by Lord Dhanvantari. A defines *vyāpad* ‘mishap’ as ‘the arising of disease from the two procedures (i.e., emesis and purgation) not [carried out] according to the teaching.’

#### Verse 2

**Variants:** AhKa 3.1-2; cf. Mooss, 72-73; SuCi 34.4.

Tarṭe reads *mṛdukoṣṭhena* ‘by one with soft bowels’, adds *durbalena* ‘by one who is weak’, and has *atitīkṣṇaṃ* ‘very severe’ for *atimātraṃ*

*tīkṣṇam*, *mala* 'bodily impurities' for *doṣa*, *vyāpatkaraṇāni* for *°karāṇi*, and *pūrvam* 'previous' for *pūrvoktam*. The translation follows Indu who understands that 'the non-attainment of the desired [effects]' (*īpsitānavāpti*) means 'the accomplishment of the cessation of the disease by means of emesis'. Ah: 'A very severe or cold emetic, given in small dose, progresses downward when, in the case of an accompanying condition of indigestion, it is consumed by one with weak bowels, by one who is hungry, by one with slight [excitement] of phlegm, or by one who responds poorly to emetics (var.: by one who is weak; cf. Su). In this case, there is the absence of the desired [effects] and the accumulation of the bodily impurities (*mala*). Considering the previous failures, one should again make that [patient], who has been oiled, vomit.' Su: 'Therefore, an emetic, being retained by one afflicted by hunger, by one whose digestive fire is very sharp, or by one who is weak, goes downward due to its having the same qualities [as a purgative (Ḍ)]. In that case, the desired [effects] are not attained and the "peccant" humours move from their seats. After having quickly oiled that [patient], one should again make him vomit with more severe [drugs].' As is closer in wording to Su in numerous places.

### Verse 3

**Variants:** AhKa 3.3-5a; cf Mooss, 74; SuCi 34.5.

Tarte reads *lavaṇamātram* for *lavaṇam atimātram*, *ato* 'py for *tato*, and *hr̥dyāvālekhana°* (read: *avalehana°*?) for *hr̥dyaleha°*. The translation follows Indu who states that 'one should not administer a third purgative, save a drug with qualities that are pleasing, etc. Indeed, one should administer only such a third type [of purgative].' Ah: 'In the case of one suffering from indigestion [or] one with an abundance of phlegm, a very severe, very hot or too saline purgative, or [a purgative] that is either unpleasant or [given] in excessive dose, proceeds upward. In that case, the mishap and [its] cure (*siddhi*) are as previously mentioned. Even then if [the purgative] does not remain in the stomach, one should not administer a third [dose], unless the medicine [to be administered] is agreeable in nature, pleasing and harmless.' Su (following Ḍ): 'An unpleasant purgative or one taken in high dose, consumed by one whose stomach is not cleansed, one whose phlegm has moved from its seat, or one whose food remains together [in the stomach], goes upward. In that case, the desired [effects] are not attained and the "peccant" humours move from their seats. Therefore, after having immediately made [the



patient] with an unclean stomach or an abundance of phlegm vomit, one should again purge [him] with severe [purgatives]. But if there is the connection with undigested food, the management is the same as indigestion (*āma*). If [the drug] is unpleasant and [is given] in very high [dose], a proper dose of a pleasant [drug should be given]. Even then if the drug moves upward, one should not make [the patient] drink a third [dose of the purgative]. But in that case, one should purge him with linctuses prepared with honey, clarified butter and treacle.' As contains material found in both Ah and Su.

#### Verse 4

Variant: SuCi 34.7.

Tarte reads *taṁ susnigdhaakoṣṭham* 'him, whose bowels have been well lubricated (i.e., oiled)', and has *anannam* 'non-food' for *amandaṁ*. Su: 'In the case of one who has hard bowels (i.e., who is constipated) [or] one who has a very strong digestive fire, a medicine [given] in small [dose] or with little potency, undergoes digestion like food. In that case, the excited humours, which are not expelled in due course, produce uneasiness in the patient and [cause his] loss of strength. One should make him drink a large [dose] of a strong medicine.' D states that this passage explains the failure of a digested (*jīṛṇa*) drug, that the uneasiness in the patient (*vyādhivibhrama*) is 'characterised by a disturbance in the bowels', and that the loss of strength is 'characterised by the loosening of the joints'.

#### Verse 5

Variants: Wanting; cf. AhKa 3.5b-10; Mooss, 75-77; CaSi 6.40-44; SuCi 34.8.

Tarte reads *stabdhadoṣaṁ vigrathitam ... virecanaṁ snigdhasvinnaṁ*. The translation follows Indu who says that such a medicine 'amounts to a non-remedy because of the stability of the "peccant" humours'. He glosses *apratyagra* 'not fresh' as 'not palatable' (*asampanna*) and explains that 'when both the emetic and the purgative have become ineffective, one should sweat that [patient] who has been anointed with oil, by the poultice-method and by the bed-method, which are taught in the sūtra-s, etc.' Piṇḍa and prastara are two types of hot vapour sudation (*ūṣmasveda*). Piṇḍa is also known as saṅkara-sudation; and prastara is called samstara-sudation (See CaSū 14.25-27, 39-42; AsSū 24.5-6, wanting in Ah, but cf. AhSū 17.6-7a and A and H to these verses). Both Ca and Ah contain information found in AsKa 3.4-5. At CaSi 6.42a and AhKa 3.9a, it is stated that the patient, after have been anointed with oil



mixed with salt, is to be sweated by the samstara- (Ca and var. to Ah: prastara-) and saṅkara-methods. Su has information similar to As and states that a medicine with a small amount of evacuative qualities should be given on the third day to a large person who has an abundance of aroused humours. Ḍ states that some understand that the man was previously oiled and sweated on the third day, while others understand that he should be vomited or purged on the third day from when he was originally given the emetic or purgative.

### Verse 6

**Variants:** H to AhKa 3.10; cf. AhKa 3.7b-10; Mooss, 76-77; CaSi 6.40-44; SuCi 43.10. Atrideva: *vamanakṛtvā* (?); Tarṭe and H: *vātapurīṣasaṅgās*; H (var.): *śūlam* for *śūlo*. The translation follows Indu. Ah states that among those requiring this treatment is one who has been oiled and sweated, and that when the drug has been digested, its action is impeded, among other things, by previously consumed food which has not been digested (so also Ca). Concerning the remedy, both Ca and Ah state: 'After having given [the patient], who has been purged by a non-oily enema, food with the meat-broth of jungle animals (Ca: of land beasts; Cakra: and birds), one should administer an oily enema with the oil prepared with [madana]phala, māgadhikā and dāru, in proper measure. One should again cleanse him who has been oiled with wind-destroying drugs with severe [medicines].' Ca adds: 'not with excessively severe [medicines] because an excessive effect is produced'. Su: 'In the case of one who has not been oiled or sweated, being improperly purged, there is stiffness and fullness (*pūrṇa*) of the abdomen below the navel, piercing pain, the retention of wind and faeces, or ... . Having purged him and having again oiled [him], one should make [him] purge with severe [medicines].' Ḍ glosses *āsthāpya* with *nirūhya*.

### Verse 7

**Variant:** H to AhKa 3.14.

Tarṭe and H: *laṅghitam* '[the patient] ... who has fasted'; H: *tīkṣṇoṣṇārviśodhayet* (?); H (var.): *snigdharūkṣoṣṇair* 'with dry (or: rough) and sharp [medicines]'. The translation follows Indu. *Jāḍya* has two meanings: 1. stiffness or heaviness of the limbs and body (SuCi 24.14;38.9 and Ḍ), and 2. 'stupefying of the sense faculties' (see also CaSū 26.79,84). Here the former meaning is more appropriate. On *tandrā*, see SuŚā 4.49; Ḍ at SuSū 15.24;45.3; cf. CaSū 20.17, where it is a phlegmatic condition, 28.9, and Si 9.21-24.

## Verse 8

**Variants:** AhKa 3.11-13; cf. Mooss, 77; H to AhKa 3.14; CaSi 6.58-60; SuCi 34.15.

Tarṭe and H (var.): *malasaṅgāt samunnahya dahyaty udaram antaḥśūlaṃ* 'the abdomen, because of the retention of impurities, having swelled up ..., burns with internal piercing pain'; Tarṭe and H have *śvāsaḥ* for *śvāsakāsau*, and H has *upācāret* for *upacaret*. According to Indu, *udāvarta* is a cause (*nidāna*) of haemorrhoids (*aśās*). It is an affliction of the wind in the bowels (i.e., 'bowels overcome with wind', AsNi 7.20) and is frequently connected with haemorrhoids (AsNi 7.20, Ci 10.50; cf. CaSū 7, passim; 19.3-4 and SuUt 55). See also AsKa 2.34 and notes. Tympanitis or flatulence (*ādhmāna*) is also an abdominal wind-disease closely connected with *udāvarta* and *aśās* (see AsNi 7.16; CaSū 15.13; 16.7; SuNi 1.88, where Ḍ glosses it as *sāṭopa*, 'puffing up'; see below). Similarly, obstructive abdominal swelling (*ānāha*) is an abdominal wind disorder where the wind is stationary in the stomach (CaSū 18.32), causing the accumulation of undigested food (*āma*) and faeces (*śakṛt*) (SuUt 53.20, see also vv. 21-27 and *MādhNi*, 444, 501). Ca and Ah: 'In the case of one who has an excess of the "peccant" humours, who is dry, who has a weak digestive fire (Ah like As: *mandāgni*, Ca: *hīnāgni*), and who has an accompanying condition of *udāvarta*, a drug [given] in low dose, after having aroused the humours [and] obstructed the bodily channels, produces severe tympanitis (*ādhmāna*) in the navel-region, and causes pain in the back, along the sides, and in the head, difficult breathing and severe retention (*saṅga*) of faeces, urine and wind. Beginning with oil massage, sudation and suppositories, every treatment which cures *udāvarta*, along with a non-oily and an oily enema, is suitable.' Su: 'A not warm or non-oily drug, drunk by one who has not completely digested one's food, who is dry, or who has wind in the abdomen produces tympanitis (*ādhmāna*). In that case, there is the retention of wind, urine and faeces, the abdomen becomes swollen, there is pain along the sides, pricking pain in the rectum and in the bladder, and aversion to food. One calls that "tympanitis" (*ādhmāna*). One should sweat that [patient] [and] treat [him] with remedies for obstructive abdominal swelling (*ānāha*), with suppositories, with appetisers and with enema-therapy.' Appetisers include triphalā (see SuSū 38.56-57). As combines Ca and Su.

## Verse 9

**Variants:** CaSi 6.61-62; SuCi 34.16; H to AhKa 3.16a; cf. AhKa 3.15-16a; Mooss, 79-81.



Tarṭe and H: *rūkṣeṇa snigdheṇa vā* ('who is dry or who had been oiled') ... *sadāhaṃ parikartanam*. Atrideva omits *svinnena sāmena vā*. Indu explains *parikarti* (*parikartana*) as pain in the abdomen like cutting on all sides (cf. H at Ah). Ca: 'In the case of one whose "peccant" humours are accompanied by undigested food, a strong drug consumed by one who has been oiled, who has strong bowels, or who is emaciated, who has soft bowels, who is fatigued and who has little strength, after having travelled to the rectum and having quickly expelled the "peccant" humour along with the undigested food, causes severe piercing pain [and] cutting pain in the rectum, along with a slimy discharge.' Su: 'An excessively severe, hot, salty or dry drug, consumed by one who is emaciated, who has very soft bowels, who has a weak digestive fire, or who is dry, after having corrupted (*pradūṣya*) both the bile and the wind, causes cutting pain in the rectum. In that case, there is cutting pain in the rectum, along with burning in the rectum, in the region of the navel, in the penis, and in the head, retention of wind, blockage of wind and loss of appetite.' As combines Ca and Su, with vocabulary closer to Su.

#### Verse 10

Parallel: H at AhKa 3.16a.

Variants: CaSi 6.63b; SuCi 34.16 (part).

H (var.): *vainaṃ* for *cainaṃ*. Tarṭe: *yaṣṭimadhukatailenānuvāsayet*; H (var.) has *cānuvāsayet*. The translation follows Indu who states that the trees with milky sap (*kṣīravṛkṣa*) are those beginning with *vaṭa*. According to Cakra (at CaCi 11.56), who refers to the list of five in the Śālākya, they include *vaṭa*, *udumbara*, *aśvattha*, *madhuka* and *plakṣa*. According to Ḍ (at SuCi 2.65), who refers to Jejjāta, they are *nyagrodha*, *udumbara*, *aśvattha*, *plakṣa* and *gardabhāṇḍa*. Ca: 'In the case of one who is emaciated, every treatment that promotes strength and is sweet [is prescribed].' Su: 'In that case, a slimy enema, combined with *yaṣṭimadhuka*, the paste of black sesamum, honey and clarified butter [should be administered]. And to him who has been bathed with cold water [and] who has taken a meal with milk, one should administer oily enema-therapy with the clear part of clarified butter or with oil prepared with *yaṣṭimadhuka*.' As combines Ca and Su. Su, however, predominates.

#### Verse 11

Variants: CaSi 6.63a,64-66a; H to AhKa 3.16a; cf. AhKa 3.14-16a; Mooss, 79-81.



Tarṭe and H: *laṅghano dīpanāś ca*; H: *vāte 'dhike* 'where there is abundant wind'; *nirāmībhūte cānubandhe*; Tarṭe: *vātānubhandha* (?). The translation follows Indu who takes *laghuksārāmla* to modify the previously mentioned food and suggests that the last two prescriptions should be combined: 'One should drink clarified butter, followed by the juice (sap) of dāḍima, with the paste of sesamum seeds and devadāru, ...'. Cakra, on the other hand, understands *kṣārāmla* to refer to a specific remedy mentioned at CaCi 19.43, and states that the prescription is to be taken in small doses (*laghumātra*). Ca: 'When the "peccant" humours are accompanied by undigested food, fasting [and] measures which promote digestion [as well as] dry, hot and light food [are prescribed]. If, when [food is] digested, the "peccant" humours are [still] accompanied by undigested food, an alkali and acid [recipe] is prescribed in small doses (following Cakra). When there is abundant wind, one should consume clarified butter, followed by the juice of dāḍima, mixed with iron sulphate (*puṣpakāśisa*), with barley-alkali, or with salt. One should consume sour gruel mixed with the bark of dāḍima in food and in drink, or the paste of devadāru and sesamum seeds with warm water.'

### Verse 12

**Variants:** CaSi 6.68-69b; SuCi 34.17 (part); H to AhKa 3.16a.

Tarṭe: *alpamātraguṇam ... śophakoṭhakaṇḍū ... aṅgasādaśūlāni* 'morbid swellings, skin-rash (*koṭha*), itching, ... decay of the limbs and piercing pain'; H: *śophakoṭhakaṇḍū ... aṅgasādagudaśūlāni* 'morbid swellings, skin-rash, itching, ... decay of the limbs and piercing pain in the rectum'. The translation is tentative and follows Indu. Ca: 'Indeed, a low dose of medicine [administered] to one with excess "peccant" humours, after having made the humours move from their seat, causes [them] to flow very slightly, [and] causes itching, morbid swellings, skin affliction (*kuṣṭha*), heaviness, decay of the digestive fire, movement [of "peccant" humours] from their seats (*utkleśa*), a sensation of bodily wetness (*staimitya*), loss of appetite (*aruci*) and paleness. This [condition] is called "continuous discharge (*parisrāva*)". Su: 'A mild drug administered to one with a strong constitution [and] excess "peccant" humours, after having made the humours move from their seats, does not completely expel [them]. Therefore, those [remaining] "peccant" humours cause a continuous discharge (*parisrāva*). In that case, there is diminished strength, restraint of impurities in the abdomen, loss of appetite and

decay of the bodily limbs. Bile and phlegm flow out of that [patient] accompanied with pain. That [condition] is called "continuous discharge (*parisrāva*)". As combines Ca and Su.

### Verse 13

**Variants:** CaSi 6.69b-70; SuCi 34.17 (part); H to AhKa 3.16a.

Var. to H has *parisrāvaṃ* for *parisravaṃ*. The principal difference between *āsava* and *ariṣṭa* appears to be that the drugs used in the former are unboiled, while those employed in the latter are boiled. On these two medicated drinks, see *MādhNi*, 441f. and 445f. Cf. also AsSū 6.119,127a and AsKa 2.5 with notes. Ca: 'One should appease that humoral [condition] or else make [the patient] vomit. Or, one should make [the patient], after being oiled, consume a strong purgative. When he is cleansed, one should give [him] prepared powders, āsava-drinks and ariṣṭa-drinks.' Cakra explains that appeasement-therapy should be used when there is slight accumulation of the "peccant" humours and emetic-therapy should be applied when there is large accumulation of the "peccant" humours, i.e., 'when the humour goes up', and that the prepared powders, etc. are known in the treatment of chronic diarrhoea (*grahaṇī*) and haemorrhoids (*arśas*). Su: 'In that case, one should administer a non-oily enema with the astringent decoctions of ajakaṇṇa, dhava, tiniśa, palāśa and balā, mixed with honey. One should once more cleanse [the patient] whose "peccant" humours have been appeased and who has been oiled.' D glosses *upaśāntadoṣa* as *upaśāntaparisrāva*, and states that the patient once again oiled should be cleansed with strong cleansing drugs. He follows Caraka's explanation of the use of appeasement-therapy and emetic-therapy. As combines Ca and Su.

### Verse 14

**Variants:** SuCi 34.18; H to AhKa 3.16a.

Tarṭe and H have *saraktam* 'mixed with blood' for *ratham*. The translation follows Indu who understands the drug to be a purgative (*virecana*). On *pravāhikā* 'dysentery', see *MādhNi*, 208f., 618f., and Mooss, 79-81. Su: 'If a medicine, administered to one with a very dry [constitution], or to one with a very lubricated [i.e., oily] [constitution] stimulates the evacuation of wind and faeces, unattained [ (?) by the urge to do so], or by the suppression of the urge to evacuate, then there occurs dysentery (*pravāhikā*). In that case, the one suffering from dysentery (*pravāhamāṇa*) violently passes thick, slimy, white, black or bloody phlegm, accompanied with wind, with burning, and with piercing pain. One should treat



this [condition] by the methods prescribed for continuous discharge.’ Ḍ explains that dysentery with effortless evacuation occurs when medicine is given to one with a very dry (constitution), while dysentery with the suppression of the urge to evacuate occurs when medicine is given to one with a very lubricated (i.e., oily) (constitution).

### Verse 15

**Variants:** AhKa 3.16b-18a; cf. Mooss, 81-82; CaSi 6.71-72; SuCi34.19 (part).

Tarṭe and H: *katakaṭāyati*; Tarṭe has *uddhṛtākṣa* ‘having his eyes drawn up’ and does not break after *āhuḥ*. The translation follows Indu at As. Ca and Ah (following Indu and A): ‘Because of the suppression of the urges to evacuate, [the "peccant" humours], beginning with wind, become provoked [and], after having gone to the chest region, cause violent seizure in the chest. [The patient, afflicted] with hiccough (*hikkā*) (Ca: cough), pain along the sides (*pārśvaruj*; Ca: *pārśvārti*), depression (*dainya*), [excessive] salivation and agitation [or rolling] of the eyes (*akṣivibhrama*; H: ‘having his eyes drawn up’), trembles, loses consciousness (*niḥsamjñā*), grinds his teeth and bites his tongue.’ Su: ‘Of him who, out of ignorance, checks the urges to evacuate the [purgative] drug which had begun [to move] upward or downward, the "peccant" humours cause a congestion (*upasarāṇa*) in the chest. In that case, due to the burning pain (*santāpa*) in the principal vulnerable spot (Ḍ: the chest), [the patient], being exceedingly oppressed by painful sensations, grinds his teeth; [his] eyes have rolled up; he bites his tongue; he faints [and] becomes unconscious.’ As combines Ca and Su; Ah follows Ca.

### Verse 16

**Variants:** AhKa 3.18b-20a; Mooss, 81-82; CaSi 6.73-74; SuCi 34.19 (part).

The translation follows Indu to As. Pulse-sudation is a means of sweating, using heated pulses of plants beginning with *māṣa* (Ḍ at SuCi 2.25, 34.9). The *avapīḍa* head-purgation is a type of nasal-therapy using an oily paste (*kalka*) (see AsSū 29.7 and Indu). Ca and Ah: ‘In this case, the physician should not get confused and should immediately make that [patient] vomit. [He should make the patient,] fainting (*mūrchā*) because of bile, [vomit] with sweet [drugs], [and the patient,] fainting because of phlegm, [vomit] with pungent [emetic drugs]. Afterwards, [the physician] should remove his remaining "peccant" humours with digestives and should increase (Ah: *abhipravardhayet*, Ca: *utthāpayet* ‘arouse’) gradually his digestive fire and strength.’ Indu glosses *kaphamūrchita* ‘fainting because of phlegm’ as *kaphottara* ‘excess of phlegm’.



Su: 'Foolish [physicians] avoid that [patient afflicted with congestion of the "peccant" humours in the cardiac region] (Ḍ: because they consider him about to die). After giving [the patient] an oil-massage, one should sweat [him] with the pulse-sudation, should apply an oily enema with oil prepared with yaṣṭimadhuka, and should administer to him a strong head-purgation (*śirovirecana*). Afterwards, he should make [the patient] vomit with rice-water mixed with yaṣṭimadhuka, and should treat him with enemas according to the excited humour.' Ḍ: 'He should make the patient, afflicted with fainting due to bile, vomit with rice-water mixed with yaṣṭimadhuka, and should make the patient, afflicted with fainting due to phlegm, vomit with a decoction of pungent drugs.' As combines Ca and Su; Ah follows Ca.

### Verse 17

**Variants:** SuCi 34.9; H to AhKa 3.23a; cf. AhKa 3.21b-23a; Mooss, 83-84; CaSi 6.76-77. Reading follows Tarṭe and H: °*marmasu śūlaṃ mūrchā bhramah kampaḥ stambho*. Su: 'A dry medicine, used by one who was not oiled or sweated, who does not observe celibacy, agitates the wind. Thereupon, the agitated wind causes pain along the sides, in the back, in pelvic region, in nape of the neck and invulnerable spots, as well as fainting, dizziness, narcosis (*mada*) (Ḍ: by the betel-nut, etc.) and loss of consciousness. This [condition] is called "piercing pain due to wind" (*vātaśūla*). After having massaged that [patient] with oil [and] sweated [him] with pastes, one should apply an oily enema with oil decocted with yaṣṭimadhuka.' Ca and Ah: 'In the case of one who has consumed the [purgative] drug, wind is very obstructed by the suppressions of the urges to evacuate or by phlegm; or else in the case of one who has been cleansed, [wind] seizes the bodily limbs with stiffness, trembling (*vepathu*), pricking pain, decay [of the limbs] (*[aṅga]sāda*), cramps (*udveṣṭa*), and churning pain (*mantha*; Ah: *bhedana* "splitting pain"). In this case, one should use every wind-destroying [treatment], beginning with oiling and sudation (Ah: every wind-destroying [treatment] is recommended).' Cakra understands that the "peccant" humour obstructed by the suppression of the urges to evacuate or by phlegm, seizes the bodily limbs; or, in the case of one who has been cleansed, the provoked wind seizes the bodily limbs. The use of the term *brahmacārin* seems to indicate Brahmanical influence. As follows Su.

### Verse 18

**Parallel** (to second part): H at AhKa 3.39.

**Variant:** SuCi 34.11 (part); cf. AhKa 3.23b-25; Mooss, 84-86; CaSi 6.45-48.

Tarṭe: *tīkṣṇavegam atibhūri ... srāveyed atiyogi bhavati*. Su: 'A very strong drug or one in very large dose, administered to one who has been over oiled and sweated [or] who has a very delicate constitution, causes over-action [of the drug]. In that case, in the over-action of an emetic, there occurs over-manifestation of bile, loss of strength and strong agitation of wind. After having given that [patient] an oil-massage with clarified butter [and] having immersed [him] in a bath of cold water, one should treat [him] with linctuses mixed with sugar and honey, according to the humours involved.' Ah: 'A very strong medicine [administered (Indu)] to one who is hungry [or] to one who has a delicate constitution, after having removed faeces, bile and phlegm [and] having liquefied the principal elements (*dhātu*), causes [them] to flow. Therefore, in the case of over-action [of a purgative], one should make the [patient] vomit the remaining medicine with sweet [drugs]. In the case of the over-action of an emetic, one should be given a purgative; and in the case of [the over-action of] a purgative, a mild emetic should be administered (Indu). One should check that [flow] with very cold moistenings, and immersion baths, etc.' Ca is the same as Ah in first part, but then has: 'And [very strong medicine] causes loss of strength and voice, parched throat, dizziness, and thirst. Therefore, one should make [the patient] vomit the remaining medicine with sweet [drugs]. In the case of [the over-action of] an emetic, there should be purgation, while in the case of [the over-action of] purgation, there should be emesis. One should check that [flow] with very cold moistenings and immersion-baths, etc., and with sweet and cold food, drink and medicines, and by [the methods for] removing haemorrhagic disorders (*raktapitta*) and diarrhoea (*atisāra*), and [for] destroying burning sensation [in the body] (*dāha*) and fever (*jvara*).' As is largely original, but combines information from Ca and Su.

### Verse 19

**Variants:** AhKa 3.26; cf. Mooss, 85; CaSi 6.48b-49; SuCi 34.12 (part).

Following Tarṭe's reading: *kṣīrasarpīḥ sarpirmaṇḍo vā*. He also has *madhurasiddham* for *madhuravargasiddham*. The translation follows Indu. Here *añjana* is the same as *sroto'ñjana*, or the inorganic galena (*Plumbi sulphuratum*) (D at Su). Ca (for 48b, see previous vs.): 'One should drink a mantha-beverage [with] añjana, candana, uśīra, marrow and blood, sugar and [cold] water, combined with the coarse powder of parched paddy. It is an excellent cure for the over-action [of a drug].'



Ah 26 follows Ca 49; however, following Indu, H and As, read *ajāsṛk* 'goat's blood' for *majjāsṛk* 'marrow and blood'. Indu states that this is used in the case of the over-action of a purgative. Su: 'One should make that [patient] drink a stirred beverage [prepared with] goat's blood (*ajāsṛj*), candana, uśīra, and coarse powder of parched paddy, together with sugar and water ... . One should treat [him] with medical prescriptions [effective in the treatment of] excessive flowing of blood [i.e. haemorrhagic disorders] (*atisrutaśonita*).' As combines Ca and Su. Compare next verse.

### Verse 20

**Variants:** AhKa 3.27; cf. Mooss, 86; CaSi 6. 50-52; SuCi 34. 12 (part).

Following Tarṭe who reads: *viśeṣeṇa tu vamanātiyoge*. The translation follows Indu who states that the fruit juices are 'the juices of the plants beginning with *drākṣā*'. He also glosses *kṣīravṛkṣa* as those plants beginning with *vaṭa* (cf. Ca, below), and takes the first *kṣīraṃ* 'milk' to be modified by the implied *vaṭaśuṅgasiddham* 'prepared with the new shoots of *vaṭa*'. The plants beginning with *vaṭa* are those of the nyagrodhagaṇa (see AsSū 16.33, AhSū 15.41, and SuSū 38.48-49). The drugs which cause constipation (*saṅgrāhidravya*) are the same as those which obstruct faeces (*varcaḥsaṅgrāhika*), found in Ca and Su (see below). They are, according to AsSū 16.29 (AhSū 15.37), the following: priyaṅgu (var. Ah: priyaṅgupuṣpa), puṣpa (var. Ah: puṣpāñjana), añjanayugma, padmā, padmād rajas, yojana-val(l)i, anantā, sāladruma (var. Ah: sāradruma, mānadruma), mocarasa, samaṅgā, punnāga (var. Ah: punnāma), śīta, madanīyahetu (cf. CaSū 4.15(31) and SuSū 38.45; see below notes to vs.24). Ca: 'Or one should give [the patient], along with honey and milk, liquid gruel prepared with the bud-sheaths of the plants beginning with *vaṭa*, and food prepared with [drugs] which obstruct faeces. Or, food with a meat-broth of wild (i.e., jungle) animals and a slimy enema are recommended. Likewise, an oily-enema is to be administered with clarified butter [obtained] from milk prepared with sweet [drugs].' Cakra states that the [drugs] which obstruct faeces (*varcaḥsaṅgrāhika*) are those beginning with priyaṅgu and anantā, mentioned in the chapter on the 600 purgatives, i.e., CaSū 4.15(31). Ah (following A and Indu): 'However, in the case of the over-action of an emetic, [the patient], after having been sprinkled with cold water, should drink, the mantha-beverage with fruit juices (Indu: of *drākṣā*, etc.), combined with clarified butter, honey and sugar.' Su: 'Or, [one should make (the patient) con-



sume a mantha-beverage] with fruit juices (Ḍ: of dāḍimi), combined with clarified butter, honey and sugar, or a liquid gruel prepared with the bud-sheaths of vaṭa, etc., along with honey, or [prepared] with [drugs] which obstruct faeces. Or, one should eat food with milk and meat-broth of wild (i.e., jungle) animals.’ Ḍ understands *mantha* and *tarpana* to be synonyms (see above notes to AsKa 2.10, etc.) and glosses *mantha* as ‘barley groats smeared with clarified butter and water’ (at SuUt 64.44). Cakra defines *mantha* as ‘barley groats combined with clarified butter [and] immersed in cold water’, and states that it is ‘neither transparent nor dense’ (at CaSū 6.28). As combines Ca and Su. Cf. previous verse.

### Verse 21

**Variants:** AhKa 3.28; cf. Mooss, 86, 87; CaSi 6. 53, 56; cf. SuCi 34.12 (part). Tarṭe and Atrideva have *madhurasā* for *madhurasā*. Tarṭe has *hanusaṃhanane* ‘in the case of shutting of the jaw’ for *hanusaṅge*. The translation follows Indu and is based on Ca and Ah. The affliction *vāksaṅga* occurs at CaSū 20.11 and AsSū 20.9 as an affliction of wind. At SuNi 1.70, it is glossed by Ḍ as ‘the non-issuing of speech’ (*vāco* ‘nirgamah’), and at AhSū 8.9, H glosses it as ‘the stammering of speech (*vācaḥ skhalanam*)’. At AhKa 3.31, Indu glosses *vāggraha* ‘seizure of speech’ as *vāksaṅga*. Cf. also AsSū 27.19, where it is found next to *hanusaṃhanana* in the list of problems from the over-action of an emetic. Based on Tarṭe’s reading and AsSū 27.19, *hanusaṅga* and *hanusaṃhanana* would appear to be synonyms. The latter occurs at SuCi 34.12, where it is glossed by Ḍ as ‘the shutting of the jaw, [i.e.] lack of movement (*hanusaṃhatih saraṇābhāvaḥ*)’. Ca and Ah: ‘In the case of excessive vomiting along with eructation [and] in the case of fainting (Ah omits), one should lick the powder of dhānya and mustā, along with madhūka and añjana, mixed with honey. In the case of the seizure of speech and [or] the afflictions of wind, the prudent one (Ah: the one who knows the correct time for application) should give a thin (H: *acchā* ‘clear’) gruel boiled with clarified butter and meat-broth and [should administer] oiling and sudation.’ Su: ‘In the case of the closing of the jaw (*hanusaṃhanana*), one should give nasal-therapy (*nasya*), destructive of wind and phlegm, and sudation.’ As combines Ca and Su, but is closer to Ca.

### Verse 22

**Variants:** AhKa 3.29-30a; cf. Mooss, 87; CaSi 6.54-55a; cf. SuCi 34.12 (part).

Tarṭe has *kavalagrahaṇḍūṣa* for *kavalagaṇḍūṣa* (cf. Ca and Ah). Indu explains that mouth-washes with the medicines are to be held in the front of the mouth of one whose tongue is inaccessible and that gargles are to be held in one part of the mouth of one whose tongue is accessible. He goes on to say that the physician should make another person eat sour fruits in front of him whose tongue has retracted inside [the mouth], for by observing that, the [patient's] mouth becomes moist and [his] tongue assumes its normal form (cf. Indu at Ah). Ca and Ah: 'In the case of the tongue retracting inside during vomiting (Ah: due to vomiting), gargles with oily, sour, salty, savoury vegetable soups, milk and [meat-]broths are beneficial (Ah: gargles with oily, sour and salty [substances], savoury vegetables, and meat-broths, are beneficial). In addition, other men should eat sour fruits in front of him (A: whose tongue has retracted inside).' Su: 'In the case of the [tongue (Ḍ)] retracting inside, others should eat sour [fruits (Ḍ)] in front of him.' Ḍ: When the mouth becomes moist because of observing this, the tongue, having become soft, returns to its natural place. As combines Ca and Su; Ḍ seems to follow Indu.

### Verse 23

**Variants:** AhKa 3.30b, 39b; cf. Mooss, 87, 91; CaSi 6.55b, 85b; SuCi 34.12 (part).

Tarṭe omits *tu*. The translation follows Indu. On the three pungents (*vyoṣa*), see AsKa 2.5 and notes. Ca: 'But (Cakra: in the case of the over-action of an emetic)), one should push back in a protracted tongue, after it has been smeared with the paste of sesamum and drākṣā. In the case of that [patient's] loss of consciousness (*saṃjñānāśa*), one should utter chants (*sāman*) (Cakra: *śāntvana* 'soothing sound') and sound of the Gāndharvas (Cakra: *gīta* 'song').' Cakra explains that the latter treatment is mentioned as a remedy for failure (*vibhramśa*), having the form of the loss of consciousness. Ah 30b is identical to Ca 55b, but Ah 39b is slightly different: 'One should make one who has lost consciousness (*visamjñā*) listen to the sounds beginning with the chants of the Sāma-veda (Indu), A (var.): Sāmaveda], reed-flutes, and songs.' Su: 'One should press back in a protracted tongue (lit.: a tongue that has crept out; cf. Ḍ), after it has been anointed with the powder of sharp and salty [substances], or, after it has been smeared with sesamum and drākṣā. One should press back the two protruded eyes (Ḍ: two eyes which are opened wide), after they have been anointed with clarified butter. In the case of one who has lost consciousness (*visamjñā*), one



should make [him] listen to sound of reed-flutes, lutes (*vīṇā*), and songs.’ As combines Ca and Su. Note that Su omits chants (*sāman*) in the list of auspicious sounds.

#### Verse 24

**Variants:** H to AhKa 3.39; cf. SuCi 34.11 (part).

Tarṭe has *miśreṇa* for *madhumīśreṇa* and *kamalotpalaśamaṅgāpadma-kesarāṇi* ‘the stamens of kamala, utpala, śamaṅgā, and padma’. H includes part of this verse in his comments at AhKa 3.39, with the following reading: *viśeṣeṇa tu virecanātiyoge ... vāmayet* (var. *vamet*) ‘but especially in the case of the over-action of a purgative, one should cause [the patient] to vomit (var. one should vomit) ...’, with *priyaṅgvādikaṃ* for *priyaṅgvādiṃ*, with *kaṭṭhalotpalaśamaṅgāpadma-kesarāṇi* ‘the stamens of kaṭṭhala, utpala, śamaṅgā, and padma’, and with *madhukodumbara* for *madhukaudumbara*. H’s version provides a better reading in general. Tarṭe’s list of stamens is redundant (*kamala* = *padma*). The translation, however, follows Indu who glosses *kaṭṭhala* as *somaṅvalka*, making *somaṅvalka* redundant. It, therefore, lends support to the readings of Tarṭe and H. The compound *rodhrarasāñjanadāḍimatvaco* could be understood as ‘the barks of rodhra or dāḍima [both] mixed with rasāñjana’. Su: ‘In the case of the over-action of a purgative, [there occurs] an excessive issuance of phlegm, and, after a while, of [phlegm] with blood. Also in that case, there is loss of strength and strong agitation of wind. After having moistened that [patient] or immersed [him] in a bath with very cold water, one should make [him] vomit with cold rice-water mixed with honey, should administer to him a slimy enema, should give him an oily enema with milk and clarified butter, and should make him drink with rice-water drugs beginning with priyaṅgu. [Finally,] one should make him take meals with milk or meat broth (*rasa*).’ According to SuSū 38.45, the *priyaṅgugaṇa* is *priyaṅgu*, *śamaṅgā*, *dhātakī*, *punnāga*, *nāgapuṣpa*, *candana*, *kucandana*, *mocarasa*, *rasāñjana*, *kumbhika*, *srotaja*, *padma-keśara*, *yojanavallī*, and *dirghamūla*. On bloody diarrhoea (*rak-tātisāra*), see CaSū 2.21, Ci 19.70 and Cakra; and on the *priyaṅgugaṇa*, see above notes to verse 20.

#### Verse 25

**Variants:** AhKa 3.39b; cf. Mooss, 91; CaSi 6.85a; SuCi 34.13 (part).

The translation follows Indu who states that the stiffening (or perhaps constricting) of the prolapsed rectum refers to the removal of its flaccidity (*parityājitaśaithilya*). The treatment for the afflictions beginning



with the obstruction of speech occurs at AsKa 3.21 (above). Ca and Ah: 'And, after having stiffened a prolapsed (*bhraṣṭa*) rectum with astringent [drugs] (A: with decoction prepared with astringents), one should push [it] back into [position].' Su: 'In the case of a prolapsed rectum (*nīḥ-sarpitaguda*) (lit.: a rectum which has crept out), after having oiled and sweated the rectum, one should press [it] back [into position]. Or, [a remedy according to the chapter on] the treatment of minor diseases (i.e., SuCi 20) may be appropriate.' The commentators agree that *kaṣāya* in this verse refers to the astringent taste (*kaṣāyarasa*) rather than to a medicinal decoction (see Cakra, A, and H). As combines Ca and Su.

### Verse 26

**Variants:** AhKa 3.32-34; cf. Mooss, 87-88; CaSi 6.78-80; SuCi 34.14.

Tarte has *raktam* for *jīvaraktam*, and *vaivarṇya* for *vivarṇa*. The translation follows Indu. Ca: 'A very harsh medicine [given] to one with a delicate constitution (i.e., soft bowels) and with a small accumulation of "peccant" humours, after removing the "peccant" humours and churning (Cakra: agitating) the life-blood, eliminates [the life-blood]. One should give food mixed with that [blood] to a crow or a dog. If it is eaten, it is called life[-blood], if it is not eaten, it is called haemorrhagic [blood] (*[rakta]pitta*, so Cakra), Or, a white piece of cloth soaked [in the blood], dried, [then] washed with tepid water should become [slightly] discoloured in the case of haemorrhagic [blood] (*[rakta]pitta*, so Cakra).' Cakra defines this condition as *jīvādāna* 'the taking away of life'. Ah: 'And due to over-action, that medicine which removes the life-blood is called *jīvādāna*, since it takes away what is living. One should give food mixed with that blood to a dog or a crow. If it is eaten or not eaten, it is called [respectively] life[-blood] or haemorrhagic [blood] sent by the medicine. Or, a piece of white cloth soaked [in the blood], dried, [and then] washed with tepid water becomes [slightly] discoloured in the case of haemorrhagic [blood], but pure white in the case of [life-]blood.' A and Indu state that since there is a similarity between the smell and colour of both blood and bile, a test is given to remove the uncertainty between blood and bile. H calls the life-blood (*jīvaśonita*) vital fluid (*ojas*), the vital power of the elements (from AhSū 11.37). Su: 'For the sake of desiring to know [the distinction] between life-blood and haemorrhagic [blood], one should dip a cotton swab or a piece of cloth in [the blood]. If it stains the cloth, after it has been washed with hot water, it is known as life-blood (!). And one may give it with food or

mixed with barley-groats to a dog. If he eats it, it is known as life-blood (!); otherwise, it is haemorrhagic [blood](!).’ Ḍ: If the white (cloth), after having been washed with hot water, becomes free of red colour (*rāgarahita*), it is life-blood; if it is discoloured, it is haemorrhagic (blood). Su’s first test by the use of white cloth dipped in the blood contradicts the other versions. It is, however, corrected by Ḍ. As combines Ca and Su, following Ca in meaning and Su in order and vocabulary.

### Verse 27

**Variants:** AhKa 3.35-38; cf. Mooss, 88-89; CaSi 6.81-84; SuCi 34.13 (part).

Tarte: *khadgādirudhiraṃ ca* ‘and [one should take] the blood of animals beginning with the rhinoceros’, and *tad ... abhisandadhāt* is wanting. The translation follows Indu. On the group of animals beginning with eṇa, see AsSū 7.104. Eṇa is probably the male of *Antelope cervicapra* Linn., the black antelope (see *MādhNi*, 450). On the method mentioned for excessive issuance of blood, see SuUt 45.28 (and Ḍ) and AsCi 3.42 (= AhCi 2.30b-31a), and cf. CaCi 4.72a. All these references occur in the chapter which deals with the treatment of haemorrhagic disorders (*raktapitta*). Ca: ‘In the case of one [passing blood (Cakra)], who is afflicted with thirst, fainting and narcosis, one should administer, until the last moment of life, every remedy destructive of bile and those which are beneficial in the over-action [of a drug] (Cakra: one should stabilise him with very cold moistenings and immersion-baths, etc.). One should drink the fresh blood of living animals [as] deer, crow, buffalo and goat, which is the connection with the [life-]blood; for it goes (i.e., combines) immediately to [with] the life[-blood] (cf. Cakra). One should give precisely that blood, mixed with the extract of darbha-grass, as an enema. One should give as an enema milk, boiled with śyāmā, kāśmarya, badarī, dūrvā, and uśīra, mixed with the scum of clarified butter and añjana, [and then] cooled. Or, [one should give] a very cold, slimy enema or a non-oily enema with the scum of clarified butter.’ Ah follows very closely Ca, but states: ‘One should administer, ..., the remedy destructive of haemorrhagic disorders (*raktapitta*) and diarrhoea (*atisāra*), that immediately restores his life-breath ... . One should give in the form of an enema precisely that blood mixed with the powder (so H) of [newly sprouted (A)] darbha-grass.’ In place of badarī, Ah has madhuka. H understands that the animal’s blood ‘completes the deficient part of the life-blood (*jīvaśoṇitanyūnāmśapūraṇa*).’ Su: ‘In the



case of the excessive issuance of life-blood, one should apply a non-oily enema with milk, boiled with the fruits of *kāśmarī*[ya], *badarī* (D: *kāśmarī*, madana-fruit), *dūrvā*, and *uśīra*, mixed with the clear part of clarified butter and *añjana*, [and then] well-cooled." As combines Ca and Su.

### Verse 28

Variant: H at AhKa 3.39.

Tarṭe has *doṣān apekṣya* 'after having scrutinised the "peccant" humours'. H has *doṣādīn ālakṣya* 'after having observed (or: scrutinised) the "peccant" humours, etc.'. The translation follows Indu, who states that the chapter on the successful treatment of mishaps of enemas is mentioned for the sake of ascertainment of the proper treatments of these types of mishaps, and that it is in regard to the removal of the "peccant" humours in the lower region because of the resemblance between enemas and purgatives.

### Verse 29

Variants: SuCi 34.21; H at AhKa 3.39.

H (var.) has *upatiṣṭheta* 'one should attend to [the patient]' for *uttiṣṭheta*. Tarṭe and H have *yah parisravaḥ ... yat pravāhanam*. The translation follows Indu who states that there is a resemblance between the two means of purification in the effects produced in the respective parts of the body: because of the process of purification involved with the over-action of purgatives and emetics, there is a resemblance respectively between sharp pain in the rectum and injury to the throat; and because of the vitiation of the "peccant" humours by the loss of the action of the purgative and the emetic, there is a resemblance respectively between continuous discharge and (phlegmatic) discharge, and between flatulence (?) (*nistanana*) and dry heaves (*śuṣkodgāra*). Su: 'For, cutting pain in the rectum (*gudaparikartikā*) after purgation is burning pain in the throat (*kaṇṭhakṣaṇana*) after emesis; continuous discharge (*parisrava*) in the lower region is phlegmatic discharge (*śleṣmapraseka*) in the upper region; indeed, dysentery (*pravāhikā*) in the lower region is dry heaves (*śuṣkodgāra*) in the upper region.'

### Verse 30

Variants: CaSi 6.28; H at AhKa 3.39.

H has the variant *dhr̥tam* 'eventually' for *dhrutam*. The translation follows Indu who glosses *dhruta* with *avaśya* 'certainly; inevitable'. Ca: 'A drug [taken] at the wrong time, [taken in] overdose [or in] low dose (so



Cakra), which is old, not infused (Cakra: with its own juices or with [drugs] of equal strength: *svarasais tulyavīryair vā*), or incorrectly processed, will inevitably fail.' The similarity between As and Cakra's gloss is remarkable.

### Verse 31

**Variants:** CaSi 6.37; H to AhKa 3.39.

Following Tarṭe and H, who read *tu ... durvirecanaṃ*. For *tau*, they have *te*. The reading *durvirecyam* refers to a patient difficult to be purged. This is grammatically and logically inconsistent with *duśchardam*, a patient having difficulty in vomiting. Ca: 'Indeed (*tu*), one should not make [a patient experiencing] difficult vomiting consume an emetic drug, nor [should one make a patient experiencing] difficult bowel movements (*duṣkoṣṭha*, var. *mṛdukoṣṭha* 'weak bowels or constitution') [consume] a purgative (*virecana*) drug. For the consumed [drug] once again will destroy those two [results].'

### Verse 32

**Parallel:** H at AhKa 3.39.

**Variants:** Cf. perhaps CaSi 6.32 and SuCi 34.5.

H (var.) has *pāyayet tataḥ* and *pāyayed drutam*. The translation follows Indu.

### Verse 33

**Variant:** H at AhKa 3.39.

H has *'lpam* for *'lpe*, H (var.) has *cānu* for *cāśu*. The translation follows Indu. The verse does not concern a mishap due to the administration of either an emetic or a purgative. Hence it appears to be out of place. Only the reference to vomiting (*vami*) allows it to be included here.

### Verse 34

**Parallel:** H at AhKa 3.39.

H (var.) has *yan* for *cen*. The translation follows Indu.

### Verse 35

**Parallel:** H at AhKa 3.39.

Tarṭe has *viriktasyodgārabheṣajam*. The translation follows Indu who states that if the vomiting of the medicine is not stopped, there occurs, due to the distress from over-application of the medicine, indigestion causing vomiting. The physician should check the suppression of the urge to evacuate caused by the emetic with very cold moistenings, etc. He should in no way purge the patient a second time.

## Verse 36

Variant: H at AhKa 3.39.

H has *niśi* for *rātrau*. Indu states that the medicine is fixed; and, because it does not reach the bowels, it does not bring about purgation. When the phlegm is weakened due to the sharpness of the drug, it brings about purgation in the evening or at night, after it has reached the bowels.

## Verse 37

Variant: H at AhKa 3.39.

Tarṭe has *rūkṣann āhārayej* 'one should eat because of emaciation', and *ūrdhvagate*. H has *kṣārān āhārayej* 'one should eat because of the caustic [medicine (?)]' . The translation follows Indu.

## Verse 38

Parallel: H at AhKa 3.39.

H (var.) has *pittaghne* for *pittaghnām*. The translation follows Indu.

## Verse 39

Parallel: H at AhKa 3.39.

Tarṭe and H (var.) have *harṣān*. The translation follows Indu. According to tradition, the compound *hṛllāsa* refers to the dislodging of "peccant" humours from their seat in the chest, accompanied by expectoration; see in particular Indu at AsSū 6.33 and 10.23-27, H at AhSū 4.17, Ḍ at SuSū 24.9 (read perhaps *hṛdayotkleśaḥ*), and SuSū 26.10.

## Verses 40-41

Variants: Wanting.

Tarṭe has *pāyor grathitvam* 'impediment of the anus' (this reading permits only eleven mishaps), *sarvadhātusraveṇa* '[together] with the discharge of all principal elements', and *yogavibhramśād* 'due to failure in the applications (i.e., overdose and low dose)', which is perhaps a better reading. The translation follows Indu to vv. 39-41, who states that the opposite movement refers to the going down of an emetic and the coming up of a purgative. Ca enumerates ten mishaps (CaSi 6.29-30), and Su fifteen (SuCi 34.3 and 22).

## Verse 42

Variants: Wanting.

Tarṭe has *siddhau* (?) for *siddhyai*. The translation follows Indu.

# A Note on the Sanskrit Word *Svastha*\*

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W. Halbfass in his article 'The Search for Identity in Indian Philosophy'<sup>1</sup> discussed the words *svastha* and *svāsthya*, and pointed out that the distinctiveness of the concept of health in ancient India could be seen in such negative expressions as the absence of illness (*ārogya*, *avikāra*),<sup>2</sup> rather than in the positive enhancement of physical strength. If not exclusively negative with the privative prefix *a-*, at least in this case there is implied a return back to the original state, or the recovery of the natural, original condition (*sva-stha*).<sup>3</sup> In a philosophical context, it means the re-emergence of the ever-present state (Halbfass, p.250).

It should be of some interest to investigate the usage of *svastha* in non-philosophical and non-medical texts and ascertain the extent of the semantic field of the word in epic and classical Sanskrit literature.

In the well-known *Sāvitryupākhyāna*, Sāvitṛī's husband Satyavat had a severe headache and was about to be taken away by Yama, the god of death. Yet, thanks to her being *pativrata*, he made a narrow escape. Recovering from this serious condition and regaining strength (*balavat*), he said to Sāvitṛī:

*śīrorujā nivṛttā me svasthāny aṅgāni lakṣaye* (MBh 3.281.80ab)

'My headache has gone, I perceive my limbs in the original state (= I feel better once again).'

*svastho 'smi balavān asmi didṛkṣuḥ pitarau ubhau*

(MBh 3.281.107ef)

'Now I am in the original state (= I feel better) and am strong. I wish to see my parents.'

Under the ideal government of the king Śuddhodana, women were

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<sup>1</sup> In his book *Tradition and Reflection* (Albany 1991), pp.249ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. too J. Gonda, 'Why are Ahimsā and Similar Concepts Often Expressed in a Negative Form?', in: *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage 1959), pp.95ff., and, L. Renou, 'Sur la structure du kāvya', *Journal Asiatique* 1959, pp.1-113, especially p.42.

<sup>3</sup> Recovery from intoxication to the sober state too is expressed by the word *svastha*. Cf. PC 3.22, prose: *kṣapaṇakāḥ svasthībhūya* (p.125, l.7).



said to be delivered of a child without difficulty:

*svasthāḥ sukhaṃ caiva nirāmayam ca  
prajājñire kālavaśena nāryaḥ* (BC 2.9cd)

‘Women were delivered in due time, in their natural state (= composed), easily (*sukha*) and without disease (*nirāmaya*).’

Not only a sound bodily condition, but also a wholesome state of mind, characterised by the absence of mental anguish, is expressed by the same word. Persons afflicted by love-sickness are often described as not being in their original state (*a-svasta*). Using a poetical technique of alliteration, Bāṇa describes the love-stricken moon thinking about his beloved Tārā as follows:

*mumoca ca manmathonmādamathyamānamānasah svaḥstho 'py  
asvasthaḥ ... bāspavāribindūn* (HC p.250, ll.16-18)

‘And with his mind stirred with passion and agitated (*asvastha*), he shed ... drops of tears, though standing in heaven (*svaḥstha*) ... .’

Fear (*bhaya*) is also responsible for this *asvastha*-state. Thus, Indra, seeing the severe asceticism of an ascetic, requested heavenly nymphs to seduce him:

*asvastham hy ātmanātmānam lakṣayāmi varāṅganāḥ  
bhayam etan mahāghoraṃ kṣipraṃ nāśayatābalāḥ*

(MBh 5.9.12)

‘I notice myself by myself not in my natural state (= I feel uneasy). O beautiful ladies, quickly take this terrible fear away.’

Likewise, shame (*lajjā*), caused by others’ laughter, makes one *a-svasta*. The king Sātavāhana, when laughed at by one of his queens for his ignorance of Sanskrit grammar, was tormented by self-contempt (*avamāna*). In the well-known story of Guṇāḍhya we read:

*asmin kāle na ca svastho rājety ālocya tatkṣaṇam  
āvābhyāṃ rājahaṃsākhyā āhūto rājaceṭakaḥ* (KSS 6.124)

‘So perceiving that the king was still not in his natural condition, we immediately summoned a servant of the king named Rājahaṃsa.’

On the contrary, absence of anxiety is expressed by the word *svastha*. Being sure of his victory, Arjuna encouraged Uttara, removing his unnecessary worry, saying:

*svastho bhava mahābuddhe paśya mām śatrubhiḥ saha  
yudhyamānam vimarḍe 'smin kurvāṇam bhairavam mahat*

(MBh 4.40.3)

‘O [man] of great intelligence, abide in yourself (= do not worry), watch me fight with the enemies and accomplish terrifying exploits in this slaughter.’

These examples illustrate a general semantic atmosphere around the Sanskrit word *svastha*. It implies not only a healthy physical condition, but also a serene state of mind. The usage, however, is not limited to the state and condition of individual human beings, but is extended to those of the state and government. Furthermore, the word reveals another aspect in religious literature. Occasionally, it is also used in a bad sense. In the pages which follow we shall investigate, more systematically and in more detail, these semantic aspects of the word.<sup>4</sup>

### I *svastha* (bodily health)

1.1. Here in this section, we shall first enumerate the examples where the word *svastha* and its negative form *asvastha* are construed with the words expressive of one’s body (*deha*, *śarīra*) and its parts such as the organs of sense (*indriya*) and limbs (*aṅga*, *gātra*). These examples show that the word indicates a wholesome state of the human body. Then, secondly, we shall list and investigate how the words *svastha* and *asvastha* are related with actual disease (*roga*) and wounds (*vraṇa*).

#### 1.1.1. *deha*:

*yāvat svastho hy ayam deho yāvan mṛtyuś ca dūrataḥ  
tāvad ātmahitaṃ kuryāt prāṇānte kiṃ kariṣyati* (IS 5480)

#### 1.1.2. *śarīra*:

*assatthasarīrassa bhaṭṭiṇo kusalavuttantaṃ jāṇidum gadā tumam  
ciraasitti uttamantī devīe pesidamhi*

(*Ratnāvalī* 3, p.43, ll.18-20)

*mitraṃ chidrarataṃ guṇeṣv agunātā dūraṃ dhanam bāndhavāḥ*

<sup>4</sup> In this paper I do not deal with the material in the Sanskrit medical literature. Yet the following passage may be worthy of note:

*svāsthyam pratibhābhyāso bhaktir vidvatkathā bahuśrutatā smṛtidārḍhyam anir-  
vedaś ca mātaro ’ṣṭau kavitvasya*

(*Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p.49, ll.13f.; cf. p.53, l.7).

Here health (*svāsthya*) is one of the eight qualities essential to *kavitva*. Cf. also J. Nobel, ‘Rājaśekharas Kāvyamīmāṃsā,’ *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens. Festgabe H. Jacobi* (Bonn 1926), pp.169-179, especially p.174.

*niḥsnehā vata vañcanāpi tanaye svāsthyam śarīre kutaḥ*  
(Cāṇakya-rājjanītiśāstra 8.2cd)<sup>5</sup>

1.1.3. ātman:

*aṅgāni caiva sāvitrī hṛdayam dūyatīva ca*  
*asvastham iva cātmānam lakṣaye mitabhāṣiṇi* (MBh 3.281.4)

1.1.4. indriya:

*tṛptaḥ svasthendriyo nityam yathālabdhena vartayan*  
*na sakāmaḥ kariṣyāmi tvām ahaḥ śatrum ātmanah*  
(MBh 12.171.44)

*lābhālābhasukhāsukhādiṣu samaḥ svasthendriyo niḥspṛhaḥ*  
(SN 18.62ab)<sup>6</sup>

1.1.5. aṅga:

*śīrorujā nivṛttā me svasthāny aṅgāni lakṣaye*  
*mātā-pitṛbhyām icchāmi saṅgamam tvatprasādajam*  
(MBh 3.281.80)

*ity uktas tena bhūtvaiva sa svasthāṅgas tadaiva tam*  
(KSS 73.304)

1.1.6. gātra:

*yat tad varṣasahasrāntam pūrṇam bhavitum arhati*  
*yathā me sarvagātrāṇi na svasthāni hataujasaḥ* (MBh 12.220.70)

1.1.7. ceṣṭita:

*nirvikāradhīram asambrāntasvasthaceṣṭitam ca tam mahāsat-*  
*tvam āsādyamānam apy avekṣya saṃrabhitaram enam uvāca*  
(JM 28, prose, p.188, ll.1f.)

As is evident from the examples above, the word *svastha* indicates physical wholesomeness.

1.2. Next, we shall proceed to investigate how the word *asvastha* is used in relation to actual physical conditions, caused by fatigue (*śrama*), disease (*roga*), wounds (*vraṇa*), etc.

To begin with, we shall see at a glance that the word conveys the meaning of illness. In the opening of a play by Bhāsa, an actress speaks of a bad dream she saw in the previous night:

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *asusthaśarīra* in *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 3.1.3 and 3.9.9. Cf. also SN 15.55:  
*kṣetrabhūtam anarthānām śarīram parikarṣataḥ*  
*svāsthyāśā jīvītāśā vā na drṣṭārthasya jāyate.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *nigṛhītendriyaḥ svastho niyame yadi saṁsthitah* (SN 11.9) and *svasthāveśa-*  
*cūṇam ivendriyāṇām ...* (HC 23.18f.).



*ajja mae sivine jjādikulassa assattham iva ditṭham*  
(*Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa* p.4, l.1)

‘Last night I saw in a dream something seemingly wrong in my family (= that somebody seemed ill).’

Similarly, in the 34th story of Āryaśūra’s *Jātakamālā*, the Bodhisattva in the form of a woodpecker asks a lion, noticing something physically wrong with him (*akalyaṣarīra*):

*dvipeṣu darpātirasānuvṛtṭyā java-prasaṅgād atha vā mṛgeṣu*  
*kṛtaṃ tavāsvāस्थ्यam idam śrameṇa vyādheṣuṇā vā rujayā kayā-*  
*cit* (JM 34.4)

‘Is this illness caused by exhaustion after indulging too much in boldness against elephants? or in excessive running after deer? or art thou hit with an arrow by a hunter? or has some disease seized thee?’<sup>7</sup>

Upon this question, the lion answers as follows:

*sādho pakṣivara na me śramajātam idam asvāस्थ्यam rujayā*  
*vyādheṣuṇā vā* (JM 34.5.1-2)

‘Thou, virtuous and best of birds, this illness is not the effect of exhaustion nor is it caused by disease nor occasioned by a hunter’s arrow.’<sup>8</sup>

Here we notice that *asvāस्थ्यā* is caused by fatigue (*śrama*), illness (*rujā*) and an actual wound caused by a hunter’s arrow (*vyādheṣu*). The physical weakness caused by these factors is analysed below in due order.

1.2.1. Firstly, the word *svastha* is contrasted with the word *roga* on the one hand, and is equated with *aroga* on the other:

*viharet svāस्थ्यam idam ca me na rogaḥ* (BC 5.35b)

‘Disease is not to injure my health.’

*āture ca pitā vaidyaḥ svasthībhūte ca bāndhavaḥ*  
*gate roge kṛte svāsthye vaidyo bhavati pālakaḥ* (IS 884)

‘A doctor is a father when one is sick, a relative when one feels better, and he becomes a protector when illness is gone and health is recovered.’<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *The Jātakamālā. Garland of Birth-stories of Āryaśūra*. Translated by J.S. Speyer (Reprint Delhi etc. 1971), pp.330-331.

<sup>8</sup> Op.cit., p.331.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ajja viadaroā sotthā hodi tti (adya vigata-roga svasthā bhavatīti)* (*Avimāraka* 5.2, prose).

*etat vidhānam ātiṣṭhed arogaḥ pṛthivīpatiḥ*

*asvastaḥ sarvam etat tu bhṛtyeṣu viniyojayet* (MS 7.226)

‘A king who is in good health must observe these rules, but if he is indisposed, he may entrust all this (business) to his servant.’<sup>10</sup>

Occasionally, the word *vyādhita* is contrasted to *svāsthya*:

*dvipadacatuṣpadānām tu kuṇṭhavyādhitāśucīnām utsāhasvāsthyāśucīnām ākhyāne dvādaśapaṇo daṇḍaḥ* (Arthaśāstra 3.15.16)

‘In the case of bipeds and quadrupeds, however, for declaring dull, diseased (*vyādhita*) and unclean ones as energetic, healthy (*svāsthya*) and clean (respectively), the fine is twelve paṇas.’ (Kangle)

More specifically, *asvasta* is said to be caused by stomach-upset or indigestion. In KSS we read,

*atrāntare ca rājābhūd asvastaḥ sātavāhanaḥ*

*doṣaṃ cāsyāvan vaidyāḥ śuṣkamāṃsopabhogajam* (KSS 8.23)

‘In the meanwhile King Sātavāhana fell sick. And the physicians said that his illness was due to eating meat wanting in nutritive qualities.’<sup>11</sup>

1.2.2. Next, we shall see its construction with *vraṇa* ‘wound’. In the story of Cyavana’s infliction of physical torments upon king Kuśika and his wife, we find the king speaking as follows:

*pratodena vraṇā ye me sabhāryasya kṛtās tvayā*

*tān na paśyāmi gātreṣu svastho* ‘smi saha bhāryayā

(MBh 13.53.60)

‘As for those wounds that you inflicted upon my wife and me with a goad, I do not see them in our bodies. Both I and my wife are now sound.’

Twice we have in KSS the word *svastha* construed with the compound *rūḍhavraṇa* ‘having healed wounds’:<sup>12</sup>

*atha rūḍhavrāṇe svasthe jāte tasmin guṇākare* (KSS 73.1ab)

‘When Guṇākara’s wounds had healed and he had recovered his health ...’

<sup>10</sup> *The Laws of Manu*. Translated with extracts from seven commentaries by G. Bühler (Oxford 1886; The Sacred Books of the East 25), p.252.

<sup>11</sup> A headache (*śirorujā*) is also a cause of *asvāsthya* in KSS 37.213f. and 221.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Rā 6.79.11 (*susvastha*) and 14d (*saṃrūḍhavraṇa*).

*te 'pi rūḍhavraṇāḥ svasthās tadviyuktā vāyaskāḥ* (KSS 10.197ab)  
 'His friends too, who had been separated from him, (came to him) with their wounds healed and in good health.'

By contrast, *vraṇita* is construed with *asvastha*:

*ekadā vraṇito 'svasthaḥ sa siṃho gajayuddhataḥ*  
*upavāsān bahūṃś cakre svasthais taiḥ sahito 'nugaiḥ*  
 (KSS 60.149)

'Once the lion was wounded in a fight with an elephant, and being out of health, underwent many fasts, surrounded by attendants who were in good health.'<sup>13</sup>

More specifically, the word is construed with *viśalya* 'with arrows pulled out'. When Lakṣmaṇa was wounded by a dart (*saśalya*), Rāma ordered Suśeṇa:

*yathā bhavati susvasthas tathā tvam samupācara*  
*viśalyaḥ kriyatām kṣipraṃ saumitriḥ savibhīṣaṇaḥ*  
 (Rā 6.79.11c-f)

'Treat him so that he may come well back to the original state (= recover). That is, the son of Sumitrā, together with Vibhīṣaṇa, should be made free of arrows immediately.'

1.2.3. We have noted above in 1.2. in the story of JM, that the word *asvāsthya* is twice construed with the word *śrama* 'fatigue'.<sup>14</sup> But more specifically, it is construed with hunger and thirst (*kṣutpipāsā*). Hence, we meet in KSS the following passage:

*tenāham amṛtasārasaṃsikta iva tatkṣaṇam*  
*prabuddhaḥ kṣutpipāsādiḥīṇaḥ svastha ivābhavam* (KSS 7.6)  
 'By that I was, as it were, immediately bedewed with a shower of nectar. I woke up, and felt better as if free from hunger, thirst, etc.'<sup>15</sup>

1.2.4. Thus, we often meet the compound *svastha* construed with

<sup>13</sup> For a construction with snake-bite, application of medical treatment (*cikitsā*) and *svastha*, cf. *Mṛcchakaṭika* 3.16, prose: *dhik kaṣṭam. ahinā daṣṭo 'smi (... cikitsāṃ kṛt-vā) svastho 'smi.*

<sup>14</sup> The word *glāna* also appears in *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p.197, l.4 (*rātrau divā vā ..., glāno 'pi svastho 'pi, patito 'py ucchrito' pi*).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. IS 1078:

*āhārayati na svastho vinidro na prabudhyate*  
*vakti na svecchayā kiñcit sevakaḥ kim tu jīvati.*

Cf. also SN 12.6 (*svarga-tarṣān nivṛttaś ... svastha...*).



*ud/ssthā* and its derivatives, describing a person who had been incapacitated due to illness, but is now recovered and on his feet again:

*tam utthitam mahātmānam labdhasamjñam manasvinam  
samīkṣya pītaram svastham vavande babhruvāhanah*

(MBh 14.81.13)

‘Beholding his great and high-souled sire (Arjuna) arise, restored to consciousness and recovered, Babhruvāhana greeted him respectfully.’

*ity uktvopetya hastena sā ca pasparśa tam gajam*

*udatiṣṭhat sa ca svasthaḥ kavalaṁ ca tato ’grahīt* (KSS 36.40)

‘No sooner had she said this than she came up and touched the elephant with her hand, whereupon it rose up in sound health and took a mouthful (to eat).’<sup>16</sup>

## II *svastha* (mental health)

2.1. Next, let us examine the passages where the word *svastha* is used in the sense of mental health. There the words expressive of mind, such as *citta*, *cetas*, *cetana* and *manas*, are construed with our word. For clarity’s sake, we shall list first *svastha* and then *asvastha* as construed with the words expressive of these mental faculties.

### 2.1.1. *citta*:

*viśrāntaś ca vinidraś ca svasthacittaś ca mānada*

*sametya samare śatrūn vadhiṣyasi na saṁśayaḥ* (MBh 10.4.6)

*prīyamāṇā narā yatra prayaccheyur ayācitāḥ*

*svasthacitto vaset tatra kṛtakṛtya ivātmavān*

(MBh 12.276.52)<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *svasthotthite tatas tasminn āniya garuḍo ’pi tat* (KSS 22.248). Cf. also Rā 6.79.11 (*susvastha*) and 17f. (*arogam utthitam*).

<sup>17</sup> Similarly:

*praharṣaṁ prāpya senā tu tāvakī bharatarṣabha*

*tām rātriṁ sukhinī suptā svasthacitteva sābhavat* (MBh 9.6.20)

*sā katham svasthacittasya muktasyābhimatā tava* (JM 22.30cd)

*vanād gṛhaṁ śreya idaṁ tv amiṣāṁ*

*svastheṣu citteṣu katham nu rūdham* (JM 20.24ab)

*cittāyattaṁ dhātubaddhaṁ śarīraṁ*

*citte naṣṭe dhātavo yānti nāśam*

*tasmāc cittaṁ yatnato rakṣaṇīyaṁ*

*svasthe citte buddhayaḥ sambhavanti* (IS 2286).

2.1.2. *cetas*:

*asmattas te bhayaṃ nāsti samayaṃ pratipālaya  
sukhī bhava nirābādhaḥ svasthacetā nirāmayah*  
(MBh 12.220.115)

*dhṛtarāṣṭro 'pi dharmātmā svasthacetā mahāmanā  
svam eva nagaraṃ rājā pratipede maharddhimat*  
(MBh 9.40.25)<sup>18</sup>

2.1.3. *hṛdaya*:

*iha tvam svasthahṛdayas tiṣṭha sattvasamucchritaḥ  
lakṣmaṇaṃ preṣayāsmābhiḥ saha sainyaṇukarṣibhiḥ*  
(Rā 6.71.17)

*te viddhā harayas tatra nāskhalannāpi babhramuḥ  
babhūvuḥ svasthahṛdayāḥ padmanālair ivāhatāḥ*  
(Rā 6.95.15)<sup>19</sup>

2.1.4. *manas*:

*divyaṃ te cakṣur utpannam svastham te nirmalam manaḥ  
tamasā rajasā cāpi tyaktaḥ sattve vyavasthitaḥ* (MBh 12.315.28)  
*śuśyatīva ca me kaṇṭho na svastham iva me manaḥ  
jugupsann iva cātmānaṃ na ca paśyāmi kāraṇam*  
(Rā 2.63.17)<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *api dveṣāgnitaptānāṃ kiṃ punaḥ svasthacetāsām* (JM 12.2). Cf. also SN 17.6: *praśāntacetā niyamasthacetāḥ svasthas ...*

<sup>19</sup> *anenaivābhidhānena svāsthyam iva me hṛdayam* (Vināvāsavadatta 5.7.14). Cf. also SN 18.61: *svasthaḥ praśāntahṛdaya*.

<sup>20</sup> Similarly:

*udvignā śaṅkitā cāsmi na ca svastham mano mama  
tad bhayāc cāham udvignā aśokavanikāṃ gatā* (Rā 6.25.10)  
*sa cāpy avocat sadṛśena sāmṇā  
nṛpaṃ manaḥsvāsthyam anāmayam ca* (BC 10.20)  
*santarpitendriyatayā manaḥsvāsthyam avāpyate* (BC 12.104cd)  
*svastha-prasanna-manasaḥ samādhir upapadyate* (BC 12.105ab)  
*kim atra citraṃ yadi vītamoho  
vanam gataḥ svasthamanā na muhyet* (SN 16.84)  
*svapsyāmy aham svasthamanāḥ kadeti  
yā prārthanā sādya mama prasiddhā* (Vināvāsavadatta 2.15)  
*kāmaṃ śarīraṃ kṣitipa kṣataṃ me  
manaḥ parasvāsthyam upāgataṃ tu* (JM 27.25ab).

2.1.5. *mati*:

*āhāraviśeṣānutsukaḥ svasthamatis tathaiva vijahāra*

(JM 7.4, prose p.35, ll.6f.)

*yena prakāreṇa parān upeyāt*

*parāvarajñāḥ svasamṛddhihetoḥ*

*tam ātmani svasthamatis ca tajjñaiḥ*

*prayujyamānam ca pareṇa vidyāt (Nītisāra 13.51)<sup>21</sup>*

2.1.6. *buddhi*:

*śāntonmādas tathaivābhūt svasthabuddhir vaṇiksutaḥ*

(KSS 73.382)

2.2. Not only the positive form *svastha*, but also its negative form *asvastha* is construed with words expressive of mind.

2.2.1. *cetana*:

*yudhiṣṭhiras tu kaunteyo babhūvāsvasthacetanaḥ*

*aniṣṭadarśanān ghorān utpātān paricintayan (MBh 3.176.40)*

*sa rājā putrapautrāṇām sambandhisuhṛdām tathā*

*smarann udvignahṛdayo babhūvāsvasthacetanaḥ (MBh 12.6.11)*

2.2.2. *manas*:

*sastrīkumāraṁ ca puram babhūvāsvasthamānasam*

*athābravīn nṛpaḥ putram pāpo 'yaṁ vadhyatām iti*

(MBh 12.166.16)

*kṣutpipāsāśramakrāntaḥ śramād asvasthamānasah*

(BC 12.103ab)<sup>22</sup>

2.2.3. *cetas*:

*tryambakenābhyanujñātās tatas te 'svasthacetasaḥ*

*namo namas te 'stu vibho tata ity abruvan bhavam*

(MBh 8.24.44)

*sa mām udvīkṣya netrābhyām trastam asvasthacetasaṁ*

*ity uvāca vacaḥ krūram didhakṣann iva tejasā (Rā 2.57.28)*

2.2.4. *hṛdaya*:

*gatāsu tāsū sarvāsu kāśyapasyātmajo dvijaḥ*

*asvasthahṛdayaś cāsīd duḥkham sma parivartate (Rā 1.9.23)*

*nayanam me sphuraty adya gātrotkampaś ca jāyate*

*hṛdayam caiva saumitre asvastham iva lakṣaye (Rā 7.45.12).*

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Rā 6.11.54: *aśaṅkitamatiḥ svastho ...*

<sup>22</sup> BC 13.7cd on Kāma: *so 'śvatthamūlaṁ sasuto 'bhyagacchad asvāsthyakārī manasaḥ prajānām.*



## III

3. Although in the preceding sections we have classified the *svastha* contexts into two categories, physical and mental, it is not always easy to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation between the two. Bodily sickness is not quite separable from mental depression. Thus, the word *svastha* stands in contrast to *vikāra*, which means physical disease as well as mental uneasiness:

*svastho 'vikāraḥ kulaśaucaśuddhaḥ*

*śauddhodanir vākyam idaṃ jagāda* (BC 11.1cd)<sup>23</sup>

'The son of Śuddhodana, who was purified by the spotlessness of his race, remained sound and with no deviation from the natural state (mentally as well as physically), and addressed this reply to him.'<sup>24</sup>

Similarly, on the verge of being charged with Śiva's seed (*retas*), the river Ganges, being frightened, lost strength (*tejas*). She said to Agni:

*vimūḍhāsmi kṛtānena tathāsvāsthyam kṛtaṃ param*

*vihvalā cāsmi bhagavaṃs tejo naṣṭam ca me 'nagha*

(MBh 13.84.58)

'I am bewildered by this and I am extremely uneasy. I am confounded, o Lord. Energy has gone from me, o innocent one.'

A swoon caused by mental shock and resulting in physical stiffness is also described by *asvastha*. On hearing the sad news that Sītā was slaughtered by Rāvaṇa, Rāma swooned (*śokamūrchita*, Rā 6.70.10), but Lakṣmaṇa then resuscitated him:

*taṃ lakṣmaṇo 'tha bāhubhyāṃ pariṣvajya suduḥkṛhitāḥ*

*uvāca rāmam asvastham vākyam hetvarthasaṃhitam*

(Rā 6.70.13)

'Then, Lakṣmaṇa, greatly grieved, held him in his arms and said to Rāma, who was beside himself, these words, pregnant with reason and significance.'<sup>25,26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cf. MBh 12.220.13:

*dr̥ṣtvā taṃ avikārastham tiṣṭhantaṃ nirbhayaṃ balim  
adhirūḍho dvipaśreṣṭham ity uvāca śatakratuḥ.*

<sup>24</sup> The word *sustha* is contrasted to *bhinnaśandhāna*, referring to rapprochement in the case of variance, and *sānnipātaka*, referring to disease:

*mantriṇāṃ bhinnasandhāne bhiṣajāṃ sānnipātake  
karmaṇi vyajyate prajñā susthe ko vā na paṇḍitaḥ* (IS 4706).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. MBh 14.81.13: *labdhasaṃjñam ... svastham.*

#### IV Mental *asvastha* and *svastha*

4.1. Although it is not always easy to separate the one from the other, we have the impression that in the case of *svastha* or *svāsthya* more emphasis is often put on the mental aspect (*citta*, *manas*, *hṛdaya*), rather than the physical or bodily aspect (*śarīra*, *indriya*). This is testified to by the fact that in commentatorial literature, the word *svastha* is paraphrased by *niḥśaṅka* (Mallinātha on *Kirātārjunīya* 12.48) or *santuṣṭa* (Mallinātha on *Śiśupālavadha* 2.46).

##### 4.1.1. Love-sickness:

The tendency is observable particularly in the case of the negative form *asvastha*, which, as we have seen above, is frequently used to describe a love-stricken person, as represented by the famous example of Damayantī:

*damayantī tu tac chrutvā vaco haṁsasya bhārata  
tadā prabhṛti na svasthā nalam prati babhūva sā*

(MBh 3.51.1).<sup>27</sup>

*smarārtividhuras tatra pitror asvāsthyakāraṇam*

*nirbandhapṛṣṭo vakti sma svavayasyamukhena saḥ* (KSS 17.74)

‘There he was tortured with the pain of love. Being asked by his parents persistently about the cause of his distress, he informed them through the mouth of a friend.’<sup>28</sup>

##### 4.1.2. Loneliness:

Love-sickness does not monopolise the mental anguish, which is further characterised by dejection in general. Thus, the forsaken king Daśaratha in his separation from Rāma is described as follows:

<sup>26</sup> Thus, *svastha* is juxtaposed with *sukhin* in some Tantric texts. Cf. T. Goudriaan, *Māyā Divine and Human* (Delhi 1978), p.394. Cf. also MBh 13.109.58: *svasthaḥ ... sukhi vigatakalmaṣaḥ*. As for its construction with *hṛṣṭa*, cf. Rā 7.25.1d: *hṛṣṭaḥ svasthataro ’bhavāt*. Cf. also Rā 6.4.59c, where the reading *hṛṣṭās* of the critical edition is replaced by *svasthās* in the Bombay edition. The word is contrasted to *arthakṛcchra* in BC 11.4, and to *vyasana* in SN 6.43 and *Arthaśāstra* 7.14.2 (J.J. Meyer’s note ad loc.cit. on p.467 of *Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben. Das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭalya* <Leipzig 1926>, and R.P. Kangle’s note on p.423). The word *svāsthya* is further contrasted to *duḥkha* in BC 11.20.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. also MBh 3.51.4 (*tām asvasthām ...*) and 5 (*nasvasthām ...*).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also KSS 110.89, 117.90. Further examples culled from the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* are 8.6 (p.24), 35.22 (p.45), 38.19 (p.47), 41.12 and 15 (p.49), 42.16f. (p.50).

*vrddham paramasantaptam navagraham iva dvipam  
viniḥśvasantam dhyāyantam asvastham iva kuñjaram*

(Rā 2.52.2)

‘An old man deeply suffering like an elephant newly captured, and like the elephant heaving sighs, pensive and beside himself with grief.’<sup>29</sup>

#### 4.1.3. Agony:

Likewise, in the last book of the Rāmāyaṇa, Sītā addressed Lakṣmaṇa who, was ordered to abandon her by his brother Rāma:

*kim idam nāvagacchāmi brūhi tattvena lakṣmaṇa  
paśyāmi tvam ca na svastham api kṣemaṃ mahīpateḥ*

(Rā 7.46.8)

‘What is this? I do not understand. Tell me honestly, Lakṣmaṇa. I notice too that you are not in your natural state (= something is wrong). Is the king well?’

#### 4.1.4. Fear:

The mental state *asvastha* is caused also by fear. On hearing a great tumult in the battle-field, the army is described with the word *a-svastha*:

*babhūva tava tat sainyam śaṅkhaśabdasamīritam  
udvignarathanāgāśvam asvastham iva cābhibho* (MBh 7.79.18)

‘When urged forward by that blare of conches, your army, its chariot-warriors, elephants and steeds, was frightened and filled, as it were, with anxiety.’<sup>30</sup>

Thus, a frightened person never finds *svāsthya*:

*bhayatrasto narah śvāsam prabhūtam kurute muhuḥ  
diśo vilokayaty eva na svāsthyam vrajati kvacit* (IS 4532)

‘Frightened by fear, a man pants heavily again and again. Ever

<sup>29</sup> *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. An Epic of Ancient India. Volume II: Ayodhyākāṇḍa.* Introduction and Translation by S.I. Pollock (Princeton, New Jersey 1986; Princeton Library of Asian Translations), pp.194-195.

<sup>30</sup> In a similar context, the word *anavasthita* is used:  
*sarvān āyusmato bhītān santrastān iva lakṣaye  
ayuddhamanasaś caiva sarvāṃś caivānavasthitān* (MBh 4.43.1),  
whereas *avasthita* is used in the sense of being invigorated:  
*evam āśvasitas tais tu satyavāgbhis tapasvibhiḥ  
tāṃś tām vigaṇayann arthān avasthita ivābhavat* (MBh 3.282.20).



looking around, nowhere does he find peace of mind.<sup>31</sup>

4.2. As the word *asvastha* indicates a state of mind disturbed by fear and despair, so its opposite *\*an-asvastha*, that is, *svastha*, is indicative of the absence of mental anguish.

4.2.1. *svastho bhava* and the like:

The semantic situation is best illustrated in its imperative form, *svastho bhava* 'enough of apprehension; do not worry'. This phrase is used in expressions of encouragement, or assurance of safety. In addition to the example quoted above on p.56 (MBh 4.40.3), we shall quote some examples below. In the well-known episode of the golden deer, when Sītā became anxious about Rāma's welfare, Lakṣmaṇa assured her of the latter's safety, saying:

*alam vaiklavyam ālambya svasthā bhava nirutsukā*

(Rā 3.57.13ab)

'No more yielding now to weakness, get a hold of yourself, don't be anxious.'<sup>32</sup>

Similarly, in his address to Sītā, Hanumat says:

*labdho no vijayaḥ sīte svasthā bhava gatavyathā*

*rāvaṇaḥ sa hataḥ śatrur laṅkā ceyam vaśe sthitā* (Rā 6.101.8)

'O Sītā, we have won. Take heart and have no further anxiety.

Rāvaṇa, the enemy, has been killed and Laṅkā taken.'

Also, in the battle between Rākṣasas and gods, Rāvaṇi, the son of Rāvaṇa, encourages his father as follows:

*āgaccha tāta gacchāvo nivṛttaṃ raṇakarma tat*

*jitaṃ te viditaṃ bho 'stu svastho bhava gatajvaraḥ* (Rā 7.29.33)

'Come, dear father, let us go. The battle is over. Know that we have won. Take heart and have no further affliction.'<sup>33</sup>

4.2.2. *svastha* with other imperative forms:

Further examples with the imperative construction also suggest the same implication of assurance of safety.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also MBh 5.9.12 and 14.10.15, Rā 6.57.72 and 7.28.15.

<sup>32</sup> *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. An Epic of Ancient India. Volume III: Aranyakāṇḍa.* Introduction and Translation by S.I. Pollock (Princeton, New Jersey 1991; Princeton Library of Asian Translations), p.211.

<sup>33</sup> In a similar context (*vijvara*) the word *ātmavat* is used:

*saṃvibhajya ca bhūteṣu viśṛjya ca sureśvaraḥ*

*vijvaraḥ pūtapāpmā ca vāsavo 'bhavad ātmavān* (MBh 5.13.18).

A haughty Vajrahanu boasts of his strength and consoles his fellow Rākṣasas, saying:

*svasthāḥ kṛḍantu niścintāḥ pibantu madhuvāruṇīm*  
*aham eko haniṣyāmi sugrīvaṃ sahalakṣmaṇam* (Rā 6.8.16ad)  
 'Free of worry and anxiety, amuse yourself and drink wine.  
 Single-handed I shall kill Sugrīva and Lakṣmaṇa.'

Similarly, with *bhavitum arhasi*:

*alam rākṣasarājendra santāpam upapadya te*  
*roṣaṃ ca samparityajya svastho bhavitum arhasi* (Rā 6.51.29)  
 'O king of the Rākṣasas, enough of grief. Leave off anger and  
 be yourself again.'

Also, a proverb which speaks of the all-mightiness of fate teaches us not to worry about the role of human beings:

*svasthās tiṣṭhata daivam eva hi nṛṇāṃ vṛddhau kṣaye kāraṇam*  
 (IS 4528d)

'Do not worry, fate is the only cause of men's rise as well as their fall.'

*daive samarpya cirasañcitaduḥkhabhāram*  
*svasthāḥ sukhaṃ vasata kiṃ parayācanābhiḥ* (IS 2982ab)  
 'Leaving to fate the burden of long accumulated suffering, live  
 happily, well-disposed! What need is there of begging from  
 others?'

4.2.3. The presence in close context with *svastha* of such words and phrases as *nirutsuka*, *gatavyatha*, *gatajvara*, *niścinta*, *alam santāpam upapadya* 'enough of *santāpa*',<sup>34</sup> as we have seen above, indicates the absence of mental anguish on the part of the person concerned. But this fearless state can be shared also by animals, such as deer and birds. In the descriptions of peaceful hermitages (*tapovana*), we often find passages such as these:

*saśaṣpakāvalaiḥ svasthair adūraparivartibhiḥ*  
*bhayasyājñaiś ca harīṇaiḥ kautūhalanirīkṣitaḥ* (MBh 3.146.28)  
 'Healthy stags, chewing mouthfuls of cud, came close and, being ignorant of fear, watched him curiously.'<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Cf. also:

*udvegāṃ neha te kiñcit susūkṣmam api lakṣaye*  
*nityatrīpta iva svastho bālavac ca viceṣṭase* (MBh 12.275.4).

<sup>35</sup> *The Mahābhārata*. 2. *The Book of the Assembly Hall*, and 3. *The Book of the*

*suptaviśvastahariṇaṃ svasthasthitavihaṅgamam  
viśrānta iva yad dṛṣṭvā kṛtārtha iva cābhavat* (BC 6.2)

‘When he saw it with the deer sleeping in perfect trust and the birds sitting at peace, he felt, as it were, rested and as if the goal were attained.’ (Johnston)

4.2.4. As a result, the phrase *svastho bhava* or the like is often used in benediction and blessing:

*āgamā vaḥ śivāḥ santu svasthā bhavata putrakāḥ*  
(MBh 15.44.40ab)

‘A happy journey back to you! Be well, o my sons!’

*svastho bhavatu bhavān. sampraty evāgamiṣyati*  
(Mṛcchakaṭika, p.194)

‘Be well. I shall come presently.’<sup>36</sup>

4.3. Gratification too is expressed by the words *svastha* and *svāsthya*. As we have seen above (2.1.1.), in *svasthacitta* construed with *kṛtakṛtya* (MBh 12.276.52), the serene mental state after meeting one’s obligation, or accomplishing a great enterprise, is shown by the word *svastha*.

Thus, Hanumat, after succeeding in crossing the great ocean and surveying the island of Laṅkā from the heights, is characterised as *svastha*:

*sa sāgaram anādhr̥ṣyam atikramya mahābalaḥ  
trikūṭaśikhare laṅkāṃ sthitāṃ svastho dadarśa ha* (Rā 5.2.1)

‘Having crossed the unconquerable ocean, the mighty monkey, standing on the summit of the Trikūṭa mountain and well-composed, surveyed (the whole of) Laṅkā.’

Likewise, a father feels free of his burden when he sees his daughter happily married. Thus, in Kaṇva’s statement we read:

*śakuntalāṃ viśṛjya labdham idānīm svāsthyam*  
(Abhijñānaśākuntala 4.23.9)<sup>37</sup>

‘Having given Śakuntalā, I now am gratified.’

The following two passages describe by the word *svastha* the peaceful state of mind of a person who has completed his obligations to his

Forest. Translated and edited by J.A.B. van Buitenen (Chicago 1975), p.499.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Upadeśasāhasrī* 14.23: *ādharmaṃ svasthāḥ kim ihitaiḥ*.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Ha 50.15: *pibantaṃ stanam ālaksya putraṃ svastho ’bravīt ...*



family-members, which had been weighing on his mind:

*dhṛtarāṣṭrāya tad rājyaṃ gāndhāryai vidurāya ca  
nivedya svasthavad rājann āste rājā yudhiṣṭhiraḥ*

(MBh 12.45.11)

‘Placing his kingdom at the disposal of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gāndhārī and Vidura, the king Yudhiṣṭhira remains satisfied, o King.’

*sa tu dattvā daśagrīvo vanaṃ ghoram kharasya tat  
bhaginīm ca samāśvāsya hr̥ṣṭaḥ svasthataro ’bhavat* (Rā 7.25.1)

‘Having given over that terrific forest to Khara and consoled his sister, Daśagrīva was delighted and satisfied.’<sup>38</sup>

Lastly, we may quote a passage which would best illustrate the inclination of the word to describe mental satisfaction. In the statement on the *śravaṇaphala* of the *Yayāticarita*, we read:

*svasthaḥ prajāvān āyusmān kīrtimāṃś ca bhaven naraḥ  
yayāteś caritaṃ nityam idaṃ śṛṇvan narādhipa* (Ha 22.45)

‘O king, one may be *svastha*, in possession of offspring, longevity and fame in constant listening these acts of Yayāti.’

### V *svastha* (state welfare)

The fearless and gratified state of individuals is further extended to that of the state and government. That government which is furnished with security and welfare is often expressed by the word *svastha*. Hence its construction with such words as *jagat*, *loka*, *bhuvana*, *idaṃ sarvaṃ*, and *svacakra*.

5.1. The ideal state of king Śuddhodana’s government, free from all sorts of danger, inside as well as outside, is described as *svastha*:

*steyādibhiś cāpy aribhiś ca naṣṭam  
svastham svacakram paracakramuktam* (BC 2.15ab)

‘Theft and the like and enmity disappeared. His kingdom was at ease and independent, free from foreign rule.’

Security and welfare are brought about by the royal consecration. Restoration of kingship after the kingless disorder bore fruit in the security of all the world when Nahuṣa was consecrated; the world re-

<sup>38</sup> King Marutta was dissuaded by his brother from fighting with the Rākṣasas. He was well convinced and intent upon performing sacrifice. (Rā 7.18.16: *visṛjya saśaram cāpaṃ svastho makhamukho* ’bhavat).

gained its original state (*prakṛti*) and became secure once again (*svastha*):

*atha lokāḥ prakṛtim āpedire svasthāś<sup>39</sup> ca babhūvuh*  
(MBh 12.329.30.3)

‘Then, the worlds came back to their original state and became secure.’

Thus, princes are expected to secure the people’s (*jana*) welfare by various means:

*tau ca rājasutau tatra pātāle sakalam janam*  
*labdhaprasāmanasvastham<sup>40</sup> sammānya vividhaiḥ priyaiḥ*  
(KSS 118.110)

‘And these princes, by honouring with various favours all the inhabitants of Pātāla, who had now obtained peace and security ...’<sup>41</sup>

5.2. Security and welfare are promised by removal of evil. Thus, the world became safe (*svastha*) after the destruction of the Asura Dhundhu:

*taṁ vināśaya rājendra lokānāṁ hitakāmyayā*  
*lokāḥ svasthā bhavantv adya tasmin vinihate ’sure*  
(MBh 3.193.23c-f)

‘Destroy him for the good of the worlds. Let the worlds abide in themselves (= be safe) now, when that Asura has been

<sup>39</sup> Note here the expression *prakṛtim āpad*. But the same can be seen in the case of physical health:

*katipayair eva vāsaraiḥ punaḥ svām prakṛtim āpannam svastham śroṣyasi pitarāṁ* (HC p.159, ll.15f.)

*tvayi ca svāस्थ्यam āpanne kṣetrajño ’pi svām prakṛtim āpatsyate* (PC, p.196, l.10).

Cf. also Rā 6.79.11 (*susvastha*) and 16ab (*tataḥ prakṛtim āpanno hṛtaśalyo gatavyataḥ*).

<sup>40</sup> The same compound *labdhaprasāmanasvastha* appears in *Raghuvamśa* 4.14 with a different meaning (Mallinātha: *svastha* = *samāhitacitta*):

*labdhaprasāmanasvastham athainaṁ samupasthitā*  
*pārthivaśrīr dvitīyeva śarat pañkajalakṣaṇā.*

<sup>41</sup> We have an example where *asvastha* refers to people of a city (*pur*):

*asvasthanaranārīkam idaṁ vṛṣṇipuram bhr̥ṣam*  
*kim idaṁ naraśārdūla śrotum icchāmahe vāyam* (MBh 3.21.4).

An example where *svastha* is construed with *antahpura* is found in KSS 85.34: *svasthāntahpuranirvṛtaḥ*.

slain.'

Similarly, with regard to the destruction of the Rākṣasa Dhundhu, we read:

*lokāḥ svasthā bhavantv adya tasmin vinihate tvayā* (Ha 9.58cd)

'By your killing him, let the worlds abide in themselves (= be safe) now.'

For the sake of the world's welfare, a king is expected to remove even his own brother. Thus, the sage Vasiṣṭha ordained Rāma to slay Lakṣmaṇa for the welfare of the world:

*sa tvam puruṣaśārdūla trailokyasyābhipālanāt*

*lakṣmaṇasya vadhenādya jagat svasthaṁ kuruṣva ha*

(Rā 7.96.11)<sup>42</sup>

'Thus, o lion among men, in order to save the three worlds, keep the world well now through the slaughter of Lakṣmaṇa.'

5.3. Yet, more generally, the security of the world is said to depend upon the humour of the presiding god. The world is safe and fearless when the god is well-disposed (*tuṣṭa*, *prasanna*), whereas if the god is angry (*kruddha*), it becomes uneasy. In the *Viṣṇustotra*, *svastha* is contrasted to *bhaya*:

*tvayi tuṣṭe jagat svasthaṁ tvayi kruddhe mahad bhayam*

*bhayānām apānetāsi tvam ekaḥ puruṣottama* (MBh 3.192.16)

'When you are contented, all the world is in a natural state; but it is in great danger, when you are angry. You alone are the remover of dangers, o Supreme Person.'

The welfare and misery of the world depend upon Śiva's humour. Here *tuṣṭa* is replaced by *prasanna*:

*tataḥ sarvaṁ idaṁ svasthaṁ babhūva punar eva ha*

*sarvāṇi ca havīmsy asya devā bhāgam akalpayan*

*tasmin kruddhe 'bhavat sarvaṁ asvasthaṁ bhuvanaṁ vibho*

*prasanne ca punaḥ svasthaṁ sa prasanno 'sya vīryavān*

(MBh 10.18.23f.).

## VI *svastha* in religion and philosophy

Yet, from the philosophico-religious point of view, everything in this world (*jagat*, *loka*), no matter how well-established it might be, is

<sup>42</sup> For the expression *jagad ... asvastham*, cf. Rā 7.61.21.



after all beset by some sort of suffering. In such a context, human existence itself is *asvastha*. In order to attain the state of *svastha* in the strict sense of term, it is necessary to renounce the world of *saṃsāra*. This world-renunciation is possible only through one's effort to free oneself of desire (*kāma*) and obtain tranquility (*śama*, *śānti*) of mind. Here in this section we shall investigate the usage of *svastha* in the philosophico-religious context.

6.1.1. First, the world (*jagat*, *loka*) of human existence, full of misery and suffering, is described as *asvastha*:

*akarmā cāvikāṅkṣaś ca paśyañ jagad aśāśvatam*  
*asvastham avaśaṃ nityam janmasaṃsāramohitam*

(MBh 14.19.8)

‘(He becomes emancipated who) abstains from all acts, expects nothing and looks upon the world as transitory, vexatious, uncontrolled and ever infatuated by the succession of births.’

*lokasyābhyāhatasyāsyā duḥkhaiḥ śārīramānasaiḥ*  
*kṣemaḥ kaś cin na deśo 'sti svastho yatra gato bhavet*

(SN 15.49)

‘In this world, which is overwhelmed by suffering of body and mind, there is no peaceful country to which one may go and be at ease.’ (Johnston)

The words *jagat* and *loka* are replaced by *saṃsāra*:

*janmamṛtyujarāvyādhivedanābhir abhidrutam*

*apāram iva cāsvastham saṃsāraṃ tyajataḥ sukham* (IS 2334)<sup>43</sup>

‘Happiness comes to him who abandons the shoreless world of transmigration, which is indisposed and overwhelmed by birth, death, old age, disease and pains.’

6.1.2. This profane world of suffering is represented particularly by the stage of the householder (*gārhasthya*), which is styled as *asvāsthya*:

*gārhasthyam asvāsthyaṃ ivāvadhūya*

*kaṃ cid vanaprastham alaṅcakāra* (JM 1.6cd)

‘So he shook off the householder's state, as if it were an illness, and retired to some plateau, which he adorned by his

<sup>43</sup> Cf. MBh 12.9.33, which reads *asāram imam asvantam* in c.

presence.<sup>44</sup>

*gārhashtyaṃ mahad asvāsthyaṃ sadhanasyādhanasya vā  
ekasya rakṣaṇāyāsād itarasyārjanaśramāt* (JM 18.11)

‘The householder’s state is a state of great uneasiness, whether he have money or not. The rich man is vexed by the toil of guarding his wealth, and the poor one by the labour of earning it.’<sup>45</sup>

6.2. In contrast to the householders, those who renounce the world (*bhikṣu*) and devote themselves to asceticism (*tapobhṛt*) are said to be *svastha*:

*baddhvāsanam parvatanirjharasthaḥ  
svastho yathā dhyāyati bhikṣur eṣaḥ  
saktaḥ kvacin nāham ivaiṣa nūnam  
śāntas tathā tṛpta ivopaviṣṭaḥ* (SN 7.20)

‘Surely that mendicant there by the mountain torrent, meditating at ease in the Yogin’s posture, is not attached to anyone as I am; he sits calm and as if all his desires had been fulfilled.’ (Johnston)

*nīvārāphalasantuṣṭaiḥ svasthaiḥ śāntair anutsukaiḥ  
ākīrṇo ’pi tapobhṛdbhiḥ śūnyaśūnya ivābhavat* (SN 1.10)

‘It seemed as if quite empty, though thronged with ascetics; for they lived self-controlled and peaceful, free from yearnings and contented with a diet of wild rice and fruit.’

Note here that the word *svastha* is construed with such words as *śānta*, *tṛpta* and *anutsuka*. Mental health is nothing but tranquility of mind. Thus, the young Siddhārtha who resolved to renounce the world is thrice depicted as *svastha* in the *Buddhacarita*:

*madhuram gītam anvartham kācit sābhinayam jagau  
taṃ svasthaṃ codayantīva vañcito ’sīty avekṣitaiḥ* (BC 4.37)  
*svasthaḥ paramayā dhṛtyā jagāda vadatāṃ varah* (BC 6.42cd)  
*svastho ’vikārah kulaśaucaśuddhaḥ  
śauddhodanir vākyaṃ idaṃ jagāda* (BC 11.1cd).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Speyer (op.cit. in n.7), p.3.

<sup>45</sup> Op.cit., p.151.

<sup>46</sup> In speaking of the merit of fasting to death, an epic passage says:

*svasthaḥ saphalasaṅkalpaḥ sukhī vigatakalmaṣaḥ  
anaśnan deham utsṛjya phalaṃ prāpnoti mānavaḥ* (MBh 13.109.58)

Not only recluses, but also those who are solely intent upon the worship of a god are *svastha*. Thus, the inhabitants of the Śvetadvīpa, devoted to the worship of the god Hari, ignored their visitors even when Ekata and others came to see them.

*te 'pi svasthā munigaṇā ekabhāvam anuvratāḥ*  
*nāsmāsu dadhire bhāvaṃ brahmabhāvaṃ anuṣṭhitāḥ*  
 (MBh 12.323.45)

‘Those groups of sages, self-contented and devoted to the one thing and thus absorbed in Brahman, had no care for us.’

Here, we notice a nuance of coldness or indifference implied in the word. This semantic aspect of the word will be discussed in the next section.

6.2.1. The world-renouncer is characterised as free of desire (*kāma*). Hence, those destitute of desire (*kāma*) attain *svāsthya*, whereas those still sticking to desire are beset by *duḥkha*:

*svāsthyam ca kāmēṣv akutūhalānām*  
*kāmān vihātum kṣamam ātmavadbhiḥ* (BC 11.20cd)  
 ‘It is right for the self-controlled to cast aside the passions, (when they hear of) the well-being of those whom the passions fail to excite.’ (Johnston)  
 In the following proverb, *kāma* is replaced by *vāñchā*:  
*vāñchāvicchedanam prāhuḥ svāsthyam śāntā maharṣayaḥ*  
 (IS 6030ab)

‘The great sages whose mind is tranquil say that the removal of longing is well-being.’

It is further replaced by *āsthā*:

*praśāntacetā niyamasthacetāḥ*  
*svasthas tato 'bhūd viṣayeṣv anāsthaḥ* (SN 17.6cd)  
 ‘He caused his thoughts to be tranquil and to abide in the rule of abstinence, and, being then at ease, he lost all liking for sensual objects.’ (Johnston)<sup>47</sup>

6.2.2. Desirelessness is tantamount to equanimity (*sama*) in the face of the profane dichotomies. Thus, the word *svastha* is construed with

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‘Well-disposed, with his desire fulfilled, happy and freed from sins, the man obtains the fruit, after abandoning his body by fasting.’

<sup>47</sup> Cf. also SN 1.10 (*anutsuka*), 12.6 (*svargatarāṇ nivr̥ttaś ca sadyaḥ svastha ivābhavat*) and 18.62 (*niḥspr̥ha*).



sama:

*samaduḥkhasukhaḥ svasthaḥ samaloṣṭāśmakāñcanaḥ*  
*tulyapriyāpriyo dhīras tulyanindātmasaṁstutiḥ*

(Bhagavadgītā 14.24)<sup>48</sup>

‘To whom pain and pleasure are alike, abiding in the self, to whom clods, stones, and gold are all one, to whom loved and unloved are equal, wise, to whom blame and praise for himself are equal, ...’ (Edgerton)

Similarly, we read in the *Saundarananda*:

*lobhālobhasukhāsukhādiṣu samaḥ svasthendriyo niḥspṛhaḥ*<sup>49</sup>

(SN 18.62b)

‘Indifferent to gain or loss, to pleasure or suffering, etc., free from yearnings and with senses stilled ...’ (Johnston)

6.2.3. Desirelessness (*niḥspṛha*) is further equated to the lack of egoism (*nirmama*, *nirahaṅkāra*). In the dialogue between Indra and Prahlāda, the former asks the latter about the reason why he is unmoved even in his calamity:

*prajñālābhāt tu daiteya utāho dhṛtimattayā*

*prahlāda svastharūpo ’si paśyan vyasanam ātmanah*

(MBh 12.215.12)

‘Is it due to the acquisition of wisdom, or to steadfastness, that you look self-abiding in the face of your own calamity, o Prahlāda, descendant of Diti?’

Upon this, Prahlāda answers as follows:

*nirmamo nirahaṅkāro nirīho muktabandhanaḥ*

*svastho ’vyapetaḥ paśyāmi bhūtānāṃ prabhavāpyayau*

(MBh 12.215.29)<sup>50</sup>

‘Without selfishness, without egoism, without desire, free from bondage, abiding in myself and free from sin, I am looking upon the coming and going of beings.’

6.2.4. Other virtues indicative of the absence of malice, etc. are juxtaposed with the word *svastha*. The king Prahlāda delineates the sage Ājagara as follows:

<sup>48</sup> Śaṅkara paraphrases *svastha* as *sve ātmani sthitaḥ prasannaḥ*.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. SN 6.43: *svasthaḥ ... vītasprho ...*

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Upadeśasāhasrī* 17.74: *svarāḍ yo ’nanyadṛk svasthas ...*. For *nirīha*, cf. also *Upadeśasāhasrī* 14.23: *ādhvam svasthāḥ kim īhitaiḥ*.

*svasthaḥ śakto mṛdur dānto nirviviṭso 'nasūyakāḥ  
suvāg bahumato loke prājñāś carasi bālavat* (MBh 12.172.4)

‘Abiding in the self, possessed of ability, mildness and self-restraint, without desire and free from malice, agreeable in speech, respected in the world, and wise, yet you live like a child.’

Likewise, Nārada depicts the sage Samaṅga as follows:

*udvegam neha te kiṃ cit susūkṣmam api lakṣaye  
nityatrṛpta iva svastho bālavac*<sup>51</sup> *ca viceṣṭase* (MBh 12.275.4)

‘I do not see that you have the least anxiety. You look always content and happy and behave like a child.’<sup>52</sup>

6.3. Finally, we come to some philosophical treatises where the *puruṣa* becomes *svastha*:

*sa vā eṣa śuddhaḥ sthīro 'calaś cālepyo 'vyagro niḥspṛhaḥ  
prekṣakavad avasthitaḥ svasthaś ca ...* (Maitryupaniṣad 2.7)

‘Verily he is pure, steadfast, unswerving, stainless, unagitated, free from desire, remaining fixed like a spectator and abiding in his own self ...’

A distant echo seems to be found in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 65:

*tena nivṛttaprasavām arthavaśāt saptarūpavinivṛttām  
prakṛtim paśyati puruṣaḥ prekṣakavad avasthitaḥ svasthaḥ.*<sup>53</sup>

## VII *svastha* as used in a bad sense

7.1. So far we have discussed the semantic aspects of the word *svastha* used in a good sense. It was particularly so in the philosophico-religious context as we have seen above. However, the word is not always used solely in a good sense. Already in the example where the word is used to show indifference or unconcernedness (6.2.), we noticed

<sup>51</sup> For its construction with *bālavad*, cf. also MBh 12.172.4 above.

<sup>52</sup> Gautamī did not allow the hunter Arjunaka to kill the serpent that had bitten her son to death. We read in Arjunaka’s remark as follows:

*svasthasyaite tūpadeśā bhavanti  
tasmāt kṣudraṃ sarpam enaṃ haniṣye* (MBh 13.1.17cd)

‘These instructions belong to the unconcerned person (*svastha*). Therefore, (regardless of your advice), I shall kill the meagre snake.’

<sup>53</sup> *svacchaḥ* in Gauḍapāda and Vācaspatimiśra.

its aptitude for being used in a pejorative meaning. In this section we shall bring into the light this aspect of the word.

7.1.1. It is curious to note that in the same philosophico-religious treatises, those who are unconcious of dangers which beset the human existence and lead their life at complete ease are described often as *svastha*:

*anabhijñās ca suvyaktaṃ mṛtyoḥ sarvāpahāriṇaḥ  
tataḥ svasthā nirudvignāḥ kṛḍanti ca hasanti ca  
jarāṃ vyādhiṃ ca mṛtyuṃ ca ko hi jānan sacetanaḥ  
svasthas tiṣṭhen niṣided vā śayed vā kiṃ punar haset  
yas tu dṛṣṭvā paraṃ jīṇaṃ vyādhitaṃ mṛtaṃ eva ca  
svastho bhavati nodvigno yathācetās tathaiva saḥ* (BC 4.58-60)

‘And quite clearly they sport and laugh so much at ease and unperturbed, because they are ignorant of death who carries all away. For what rational being would stand or sit or lie at ease, still less laugh, when he knows of old age, disease and death. But he is just like a being without reason, who, on seeing another aged or ill or even dead, remains indifferent and unmoved.’ (Johnston)<sup>54</sup>

These heedless persons are compared to fish which do not realise that disaster awaits them when the pond is enclosed by a net, and still continue to swim about cheerfully:

*antarjālagatāḥ pramattamanaso mīnās tadāge yathā  
jānanti vyasanaṃ na rodhajanitaṃ svasthāś caranty ambhasi  
antarlokagatāḥ kṛtārthamatayas tadvad divi dhyāyino  
manyante śivam acyutaṃ dhruvam iti svaṃ sthānam āvartakam*  
(SN 11.61)

‘As heedless fishes in a pond, when enclosed by a net, do not realise the disaster that has befallen them from being penned in but swim about cheerfully, so those given to abstract meditation think they have gained their object in heaven, while in fact they are still in the world of existence, and they deem

<sup>54</sup> MBh 12.169.21:

*mṛtyur jarā ca vyādhiś ca duḥkhaṃ cānekakāraṇam  
anuṣaktaṃ yadā dehe kiṃ svastha iva tiṣṭhasi.*

BC 3.61:

*iyam ca niṣṭhā niyatā prajānāṃ pramādyati tyaktabhayaś ca lokāḥ  
manāṃsi śaṅke kaṭhināni nṛṇāṃ svasthāś tathā hy adhvane vartamānāḥ.*



their stay there, which leads to return to this world, to be safe, permanent and not subject to fall.’ (Johnston)

Note here that the word *svastha* is juxtaposed with *acetana*, *pramat-tamanas*, and the like.<sup>55</sup>

7.1.2. In contrast to *asvastha* which portrays the love-sick person, *svastha* is used to describe pejoratively a happy innocent fellow who is insensible to this sort of subtle human emotion:

*adṛṣṭasmarasantāpaḥ svasthas tvam kim na jalpasi*  
(KSS 51.203cd)

‘What stuff will you not prate, being ungalled and never having felt the agony of love.’<sup>56</sup>

7.1.3. Similarly, those who are fearless and unconcerned, even in a critical moment, are described as *svastha*. Kumbhakarna enjoyed sound sleep, even when his kinsfolk were in a critical situation:

*prabodhya mahatā cainam yatnenāgatasādhvasaḥ*  
*svastham āsinam avyagram vinidraṃ rākṣasādhīpaḥ*  
(MBh 3.270.21ad)

‘Having woken up with great effort the mighty Kumbhakarna, who had been sitting at ease<sup>57</sup> and unagitated, but no longer asleep, the agitated (Daśagrīva said...)’

While planning the night-attack on the Pāṇḍavas’ camps, Aśvatthāman speaks of his enemies who enjoy their sound sleep, unconscious of the disaster to come:

*teṣāṃ niśi prasuptānāṃ svasthānāṃ śibire svake*  
*avaskandaṃ kariṣyāmi śibirasyādyā duṣkaram*  
(MBh 10.3.26)<sup>58</sup>

‘While they sleep at their ease during the night within their

<sup>55</sup> Cf. also PC 2.3, where the word *svastha* is juxtaposed with *nṛpaśu*: *māhāvratī nekṣitā sūkṣmā vastuvicāraṇā nṛpaśubhiḥ svasthaiḥ katham sthīyate*.

<sup>56</sup> *The Ocean of Story. Being C.H. Tawney’s Translation of Somadeva’s Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (Reprint Delhi etc. 1968), vol.4, p.136.

<sup>57</sup> For *svastham āsinam*, cf. MBh 2.6.6: *nāradaṃ svastham āsinam*.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. IS 1322:

*ūrjitaṃ sajjanaṃ dṛṣtvā dveṣṭi nīcaḥ punaḥ punaḥ*  
*kavalīkurute svasthaṃ vidhuṃ divi vidhantudāḥ*.

For the meaning of *svastha vidhu* ‘full moon’, cf. also Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.80 (*sustha indu*) (quoted in BR, s.v. *sustha*).

camp, I shall make now a hard assault upon their camp.'

7.1.4. In the following passages, its meaning becomes worse. The word serves to describe a cold and ungrateful person who behaves as if he were an indifferent outsider (*jana*),<sup>59</sup> even when his master and friends are exposed to a serious danger:

*yena svāmikulam ripor iva kulam dṛṣṭam vinaśyat purā  
mitrāṇām vyasane mahotsava iva svasthena yena sthitam*  
(*Mudrārākṣasa* 7.5ab)

'(I, who) formerly witnessed the master's family being ruined as if it were an enemy's family, and who remained at ease as if at a great festival, when my friends were in calamity ... '

*tyaktavyās te suhrdaḥ ye bhāvyaviparyayāgataṃ mitram  
vyasanārṇave nimagnam svasthā janavan nirīkṣante*  
(*Nītidviṣaṣṭika* 61, in ALB 1983.47, p.109)

'Such friends should be abandoned who witness as if an outsider their friends who are destined to be met with misfortune and sunk into the ocean of calamity.'<sup>60</sup>

7.1.5. The word is even imbued with the sense of shamelessness. In a verse of the *Śiśupālavadha*, a person who is insensible to another's insult is called *svastha*:

*pādāhatam yad utthāya mūrdhānam adhirohati  
svasthād evāpamāne 'pi dehinas tad varam rajah*  
(*Śiśupālavadha* 2.46)

'The dust which goes up and stands upon the head of the person who kicked it by foot is better than a man who does not care even when exposed to insult.'<sup>61</sup>

We may also note *svasthavākya*, which may be rendered as 'cool',

<sup>59</sup> For the word *jana* cf. M. Hara, 'A Note on the Sanskrit Word *jana*', *Pratidānam. Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies presented to F.B.J. Kuiper on His Sixtieth Birthday* (The Hague/Paris 1968), pp.256-269.

<sup>60</sup> Though not exactly used in a bad sense, *janavat* above may be compared to *prekṣakavat* in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 65:

*tena nivṛttaprasavām arthavaśāt saptarūpavinivṛttām  
prakṛtiṃ paśyati puruṣaḥ prekṣakavad avasthitah svasthah.*

Cf. also *Maitryupaniṣad* 2.7.

<sup>61</sup> *Māgha's Śiśupālavadha* nach den Kommentaren von Vallabhadeva und des Malināthasūri ins Deutsche übertragen von E. Hultzsch (Leipzig 1926), p.15: 'ganz ruhig bleibt'.

‘indifferent’ or even ‘confident’:

*bhagavan, akāle svasthavākyam manyum utpādayati (Pañcarātra 2.20, 1.1)*

‘Your cool talk out of season makes me angry.’<sup>62</sup>

7.1.6. In the subject-master relation, *svastha* (the returning back to the natural and original state) on the part of a servant is tantamount to behaving like one who has no self-restraint. In such a case we can render the word as ‘impudent’ or ‘audacious’. The subjects who criticise their master without reserve are described by Bhīṣma as follows:

*helamānā naravyāghra svasthās tasyopaśṛṇvate  
nindanti svān adhikārān santyajanti ca bhārata (MBh 12.56.58)*

‘Slighting without the least anxiety, even in their presence, they censure their own authorities and abandon them, o man-tiger.’

Heedlessness (*svasthacitta*) leads one to behave insolently (*durvinaya*). The gaṇas Maṇipuṣpeśvara and Candralekhā were cursed by Pārvatī because of winking to each other in the very presence of the goddess (*parihāsāparādhin*). The goddess says:

*ābhyām hi svasthacittābhyām eṣa durvinayaḥ kṛtaḥ*  
(KSS 114.69)

‘Both of them, being easy and heedless of mind, are guilty of rude behaviour (*durvinaya*).’

### VIII Miscellanea

There remain several problems with regard to the word *svastha*. We shall deal with them under the following four headings.

#### 8.1. *svastha* = free:

Occasionally, to stand upon (i.e. be in) one’s natural and original state (*sva-stha*) means freedom. In the well-known *Hamsajātaka*, the king of the Hamsas was caught in a net, while his minister remained uncaught, that is, free. Yet the minister was determined to share the same fate with the king. The contrast of the trapped king and the untrapped minister is shown by (*ava*)*baddha* and *svastha* (= *abaddha*):

*athaikaṃ baddham abaddhenetareṇa svasthenopāsyamānam*

<sup>62</sup> *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays Ascribed to Bhāsa*. Translated into English by A.C. Woolner and L. Sarup (Lahore 1930), vol.1, p.126.



*avekṣya vismitatarahṛdayaḥ sumukham upetyovāca* (JM, p.135, ll.2-4)

*abaddhas tvam punaḥ svasthaḥ sajjapattrarathī balī  
kasmāt prāpte 'pi mayy evaṃ vegān na bhajase nabhaḥ*  
(JM 22.40)

*svasthāvabaddhāv adhiropya kācam  
antaḥpure darśaya bhūmipāya* (JM 22.55cd)  
*tau haṃsamukhyau kācenādāya svasthāvabaddhau rājñe darśa-  
yām āsa* (JM 22.56, prose, p.137, ll.8f.)  
*svasthāvabaddhāv amukau vihaṅgau bhūmicārīṇaḥ*  
(JM 22.58ab).

Likewise, *svastha* is contrasted to *vraṇita* (*asvastha*). The wounded lion was attended by unwounded (*svastha*) animals:

*ekadā vraṇito 'svasthaḥ sa siṃho gajayuddhataḥ  
upavāsān bahūmś cakre svasthair taiḥ sahito 'nugaiḥ*  
(KSS 60.149)

‘One day the lion was wounded in a fight with an elephant, and being out of health, underwent many fasts, though surrounded by those attendants who were in good health.’

Also, in the *Sutasomajātaka* the man-eating Kalmāṣapāda was surprised at Sutasoma’s keeping his promise to return back to his presence, after fulfilling the promise he had made to a Brahmin. Here, the word *svastha* is juxtaposed with *vimukta*:

*idaṃ tvayā hy ādṛtam ucyamānam  
śraddheyatām naiva kathaṅcid eti  
ko nāma mṛtyor vadanād vimuktaḥ  
svasthaḥ sthitas tat punar abhyupeyāt* (JM 31.20)

‘What you say, as if it were something worth regard, is a thing which utterly exceeds belief. Who, indeed, being released from the mouth of Death and having recovered his freedom of movement, would go to meet it once more?’ (Speyer)<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Cf. IS 3800:

*nītir bhūmibhujām natir guṇavatām hrīr aṅganānām ratir  
dampatyoh śīśavo grhasya kavītā buddheḥ prasādo girām  
lāvanyaṃ vapuṣaḥ smṛtiḥ sumanasah śāntir dvijasya kṣamā  
śaktasya draviṇaṃ grhāśramavatām svāsthyam satām maṇḍanam*  
(‘... der Gelehrten Schmuck die Unabhangigkeit’).

### 8.2. *svastha*, *prakṛti* and *śamatva*:

Not only being equanimous (*sama*) to the secular dichotomies such as *sukhaduḥkha*, *stutinindā*, etc., as mentioned above (6.2.2.), but also equanimous to the state of the three *guṇas* is termed as *svastha*:

*śītoṣṇe caiva vāyuś ca trayāḥ śārīrajā guṇāḥ*  
*teṣāṃ guṇānāṃ sāmyaṃ ca tad āhuḥ svasthalakṣaṇam*  
(MBh 12.16.11)

‘Cold, heat and wind are the three attributes of the body. Concord of these attributes is the sign of health.’<sup>64</sup>

A specific mention of the Sāṅkhya *triguṇa* is also found:  
*divyaṃ te cakṣur utpannam svasthaṃ te nirmalaṃ manaḥ*  
*tamasā rajasā cāpi tyaktaḥ sattve vyavasthitaḥ* (MBh 12.315.28)  
*praharṣaḥ prītir ānandaḥ sāmyaṃ svasthātma-cittatā*  
*akasmād yadi vā kasmād vartate sātत्वiko guṇaḥ*  
(MBh 12.239.23)

We must not fail to notice that *svastha* is often associated with *prakṛtim ā/pad*, as we have seen in n.39 above.

### 8.3. *svastha* and *sustha*:

The problem whether *sva-* is an ablaut form of *su-* has been discussed by several scholars. Some are inclined to admit this possibility,<sup>65</sup> but A. Debrunner objected to connecting these two.<sup>66</sup> Without entering into detail, here we quote some passages where *svastha* is replaced by *sustha*. In MS 8.216 and 217 we notice that *svastha* and *sustha* appear consecutively, both being contrasted to the word *ārta*:

*ārtas tu kuryāt svasthaḥ san yathābhāṣitam āditaḥ*  
*sa dīrghasyāpi kālasya tal labhetaiva vetanam* (8.216)  
*yathoktam ārtaḥ sustho vā yas tat-karma na kārayet*  
*na tasya vetanam deyam alponasyāpi karmaṇaḥ* (8.217).<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cf. MBh 14.12.3:

*śītoṣṇe caiva vāyuś ca guṇā rājaṇi charīrajāḥ*  
*teṣāṃ guṇānāṃ sāmyaṃ cet tad āhuḥ svasthalakṣaṇam.*

<sup>65</sup> Cf. A. Venkatasubbiah, ‘Vedic Studies’, *Indian Antiquary* 56.1927, pp.30-38, especially pp.34-36, L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite* (Paris 1961), § 135 (p.176), R. Hauschild, *Handbuch des Sanskrit* (Heidelberg 1955) 1-2, p.409, n.4 and II, p.346.

<sup>66</sup> *Indogermanische Forschungen* 63.1957, pp.99ff.

<sup>67</sup> For *sustha*, see Kullūka on, MS 2.120, which latter reads:  
*ūrdhvaṃ prāṇā hy utkrāmanti yūnaḥ sthavira āyati*

In the third act of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, twice we meet the compounds *asusthaśarīra* and *asuttha* in Prakrit form, used in the sense of sickness:

*ātapalaṅghanād balavadasusthaśarīrā śakuntalā* (3.1.3)

*balavadasusthaśarīrā tatrabhavatī dṛśyate* (3.9.9)

*asutthā idha devadāsahāinī ciṭṭhasi* (3.37.7f.).<sup>68</sup>

A distant echo of the relationship between *sva-* and *su-* may be found in the following passage of the *Pañcatantra*, where *sva-* (in the sense of *su-*?) is contrasted to *dur-*:

*iha loke hi dhanināṃ paro 'pi svajanāyate*

*svajano 'pi daridrāṇāṃ tatkṣaṇād durjanāyate* (1.5)<sup>69</sup>

#### 8.4. *svastha* and *svaḥstha*:

Finally, let us examine the passages where the word *svastha* is used as a double entendre (*susthite ca mṛte svasthaḥ iti viśvaḥ*).

*te tu vyajñāpayan. deva, dhairyam avalambasva. katipayair eva vāsaraḥ punaḥ svām prakṛtim āpannam svastham śroṣyasi pitaram* (HC, p.159, ll.15f.)

‘But they informed him, "Prince, do not worry. In a few days time, you will hear that your father has recovered (or: has ascended to heaven).”’<sup>70</sup>

*raktaprasādhitabhuvāḥ kṣatavigrahās ca*

*pratyutthānābhivādanābhyām punas tām pratipadyate;*

Kullūka says: ... *tām vṛddhasya pratyutthānābhivādābhyām punaḥ susthān karoti.*

<sup>68</sup> Other examples of *sustha* are as follows:

*yācñāsūnyam ayatnalabhyam aśanam vāyuh kṛto vedhasā vyālānām paśavas tṛṇāṅkurabhujāḥ susthāḥ sthaliśāyinaḥ* (IS 5437)

*tasmin svapati susthe tu karmātmānaḥ śarīriṇaḥ* (MS 1.53ab)

*na cāpi paśyed aśuciḥ sustho jyotiṅgān divi* (MS 4.142cd).

<sup>69</sup> For the word *susthita*, cf. also:

*rātrau ca susthitām dṛṣtvā tām sa rājā dvitīyayā*

*tārāvalyā sahārohac candraprāsādam īśvaraḥ* (KSS 85.15)

*mantriṇi suhrḍīva rājyabhāram āropya susthitāḥ prajāḥ kṛtvā kartavyaśeṣam aparam apaśyat* (Kādambarī, p.115, ll.5f.).

<sup>70</sup> Commentary: *svām prakṛtim amandatvam avyaktarūpatvam ca pṛthivyādiṣu vā līnam. svastham vyādhivinirmuktaṃ svargastham ca.*



svasthā bhavantu kururājasutāḥ sabhr̥tyāḥ

(*Veṇīsamhāra* 1.7cd)<sup>71</sup>

‘May the sons of the King of the Kurus be happy, with all their followers, having (all) the world attached to them and adorned (or: having restored the earth to the Pāṇḍavas (thus) attached to them), all hostilities being stopped thereby (or the war being avoided)!’; or: ‘May the sons of the King of the Kurus, with all their followers, be the denizens of heaven (=die), having painted the earth red with their blood and their bodies shattered!’

mumoca ca manmathonmādamathyamānamānasah svaḥstho ’py asvasthaḥ sthavīyasaḥ ... bāṣpavāribindūn (HC p.250, ll.16-18)

‘And with his mind stirred with passion and agitated, he (the moon) shed large ... drops of tears, though standing in heaven ... ’<sup>72,73</sup>

## ABBREVIATIONS

- ALB *The Adyar Library Bulletin*  
 BC *Buddhacarita*, ed. E.H. Johnston (reprint Delhi 1972)  
 BR Larger St. Petersburg Dictionary  
 Ha *Harivaṃśa* (critical edition, Poona)  
 HC *Harṣacarita* (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay 1946)  
 IS O. Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche* 1-3 (St. Petersburg 1870-73)  
 JM *Jātakamālā*, ed. H. Kern (Third printing Cambridge, Mass. 1943; Harvard Oriental Series 1)  
 KSS *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadevabhaṭṭa (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay 1930)  
 MBh *Mahābhārata* (critical edition, Poona)  
 MS *Manusmṛti* (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay 1946)  
 PC *Prabodhacandrodaya* (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay 1935)  
 Rā *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki (critical edition, Baroda)  
 SN *Saundarananda*, ed. E.H. Johnston (reprint Kyoto 1971)

<sup>71</sup> Commentary: *svasthā susthitāḥ (pakṣe svargasthāḥ) mṛtās ca*.

<sup>72</sup> Commentary: *svaḥsthaḥ svargasthaḥ asvasthaḥ pīḍitah*.

<sup>73</sup> I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Richard Fox Young who kindly took the trouble to read my original manuscript and correct my English.

## OTHER TEXTS

<i>Abhijñānaśākuntala</i>	ed. R. Pischel ( <sup>2</sup> Cambridge, Mass. 1922; Harvard Oriental Series 16)
<i>Arthaśāstra</i>	ed. R.P. Kangle (Bombay 1960)
<i>Avimāra</i>	in: <i>Bhāsa Nāṭakacakram</i> (Poona 1951; Poona Oriental Series 54)
<i>Bhagavadgītā</i>	ed. H.R. Bhagavat ( <sup>2</sup> Poona 1929), and ed. F. Edgerton (Cambridge, Mass. 1952; Harvard Oriental Series 38)
<i>Bodhisattvabhūmi</i>	ed. U. Wogihara (Tokyo 1971)
<i>Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra</i>	ed. L. Sternbach in: <i>Cāṇakya-nīti-text Tradition</i> (Hoshiarpur 1964)
<i>Kādambarī</i>	ed. Nirnaya Sagar Press (Bombay 1921)
<i>Kāvyamīmāṃsā</i>	ed. C.D. Dalal and R.A. Sastry ( <sup>3</sup> Baroda 1934; Gaekwad's Oriental Series 1)
<i>Kirātārjunīya</i>	ed. Nirnaya Sagar Press (Bombay 1954)
<i>Mṛcchakatika</i>	ed. Nirnaya Sagar Press (Bombay 1950)
<i>Maitryupaniṣad</i>	(= <i>Maitrāyaṇyupaniṣad</i> ), in: <i>Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads</i> , vol.1. Ed. V.P. Limaye and R.D. Vadekar (Poona 1958)
<i>Mudrārākṣasa</i>	ed. A. Hillebrandt (Breslau 1912)
<i>Nītisāra</i>	(Poona 1964; Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 136)
<i>Padmaprābhṛtaka</i>	ed. J.R.A. Loman (Amsterdam 1956)
<i>Pañcarātra</i>	in: <i>Bhāsa Nāṭakacakram</i> (Poona 1951; Poona Oriental Series 54)
<i>Pañcatantra</i>	(Bombay 1896; Bombay Sanskrit Series 4)
<i>Pratijñāyugaṇḍharāyaṇa</i>	in: <i>Bhāsa Nāṭakacakram</i> (Poona 1951; Poona Oriental Series 54)
<i>Raghuvamśa</i>	ed. Nirnaya Sagar Press (Bombay 1948)
<i>Ratnāvalī</i>	ed. M. Lehot (Paris 1933; Collection Émile Senart)
<i>Śiśupālavadha</i>	ed. Nirnaya Sagar Press (Bombay 1957)
<i>Upadeśasāhasrī</i>	ed. S. Mayeda (Tokyo 1973)
<i>Veṇīsaṃhāra</i>	ed. Nirnaya Sagar Press (Bombay 1940)
<i>Vīṇāvāsavadatta</i>	ed. K.V. Sarma (Madras 1962)

## On Vārttika 1 on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.4.24\*

TORU YAGI

P.6.4.24 '*aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ kṛiti*', provides, together with 6.4.1 '*aṅgasya*' and 6.4.23 '*śnān nalopaḥ*', for the following:

'The penultimate *n* of those [verbal] bases which are both devoid of the short vowel *i* and end with a consonant disappears [on condition that these verbal bases stand] before an element having *k* or *ṇ* as index.'

This rule is applied at the stage of *sraṇs-ta-* (3.4.72, *-ta* {*kta*}, *k-it* < *sraṇs-*, DH.1.790 '*sraṇsu avasraṇsane*', *an-idit*, *hal-anta*) in the formation of such a word as, among others, *sra°s-ta-* 'fallen'. To this rule Kātyāyana adds, as VT.1, the following statement: '*aniditām nalope laṅgikampyor upatāpaśarīravikārayor upasaṅkhyānam*'. This additional rule is usually interpreted as follows: The present disappearance of the penultimate *n* must be laid down, as a supplement to the present rule, with regard to the (accreted) verbal bases *la.n.g-* and *ka.n.p-* (in spite of their having as index the short vowel *i*) when the senses '*upatāpa-*' and '*śarīravikāra-*' are to be expressed. The motivation of his formulating the present additional rule resides, according to Patañjali, in the word-forms *vilā°gita-* and *vika°pita-*.

It is true that the word *upatāpa-* conventionally expresses, among others, the sense 'disease' (*roga-/vyādhi-*)<sup>1</sup> or the sense 'affliction/difficulty' (*kṛcchra-*),<sup>2</sup> and that the word *vikāra-* 'change (from an original state to another)' is also synonymous with 'disease', especially in the Āyurvedic literature.<sup>3</sup> But the interpretations of these two words by

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\* Abbreviations used: DH. = *Dhātupāṭha*, G. = *Gaṇapāṭha*, MBH. = *Mahābhāṣya*, P. = *Sūtra of Pāṇini's Grammar*, PW = *Larger St. Petersburg Dictionary (Petersburger Wörterbuch)*, VT. = *Vārttika*, VTT. = *Vārttikas*.

<sup>1</sup> *Amarakośa* (6th cent.) 2.6.51ab '*strī rug rujā cōpatāparogavyādhigadāmayāḥ*' (7 synonyms), *Abhidhānaratnamālā* (10th cent.) 2.445 '*rogo ruk vyādhir ākalyaṇ gado māṇḍyam apātavam | āma āmaya ātaṅka upatāpo rujā smṛtā*' (12 synonyms; this corresponds to *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 11-12th cent.) and other lexicons. Does the increase in the number of synonyms have anything to do with the development of medical science?

<sup>2</sup> *Anekārthasaṅgraha* (11-12th cent.) 4.213c '*upatāpo gade tāpe*', 2.299c '*tāpaḥ san-tāpe kṛcchre ca*' and 2.408-409 '*kṛcchram aṇhasi kaṣṭe sāntapane*' (cf. P.7.2.22 '*kṛcchragahanayoḥ kaṣaḥ*').

<sup>3</sup> *Carakasamhitā*, Nidāna.1.5 '*tatra vyādhir āmayo gada ātaṅko yakṣmā jvaro vikāro*



commentators are in disaccord. Jinendrabuddhi considers the word *upatāpa-* as signifying 'disease' (*vyādhi-*) and the word *śarīravikāra-* 'change of the body' as signifying 'change of the body other than disease', while Kaiyaṭa interprets the former as signifying 'attainment of affliction/difficulty' (*kṛcchraprāpti-*) and the latter as signifying 'disease' (*roga-*). Kaiyaṭa's interpretation is followed by both Haradatta and Nāgeśa.

Pāṇini employs the word *upatāpa-* twice, in P.5.2.128 and 7.3.61, and the word *roga-* 'disease' five times (3.3.108, 4.3.13, 5.2.81, 5.4.49, and 6.3.51), but the word *vyādhi-* 'disease' never at all. Kātyāyana, on the other hand, uses only the word *upatāpa-*, but twice (VT.1 on P.3.3.16, and VT.1 on 6.4.24). As for Patañjali, he repeats the word *upatāpa-* like an echo four times (MBH. on VT.1 on P.3.3.16, on VT.1 on 6.4.24, and on VTT.1-2 on 7.3.61), while he also employs the words *roga-* (MBH. on VT.5 on 3.1.67, and on 8.4.61) and *vyādhi-* (MBH. on VT.11 on 1.3.1, and on 3.3.17) respectively three times.<sup>4</sup> As for the word *vikāra-*, it appears

*roga ity anarthāntaram*' (8 synonyms), Vimāna.6.4, Cikitsā.3.11; *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Nidāna.1.1 '*rogaḥ pāpmā jvaro vyādhir vikāro duḥkham āmayah | yakṣmātaṅkagadābādāḥ śabdāḥ paryāyavācinah*' (11 synonyms) and *Anekārthasaṅgraha* 3.638c '*vikāro vikṛtau roge*'. Cf. *Carakasamhitā*, Sūtra.9.4. '*vikāro dhātuvaiśamyam sāmyaṁ prakṛtir ucyate | sukhasamjñakam ārogyam vikāro duḥkham eva ca*' and 19.6.

<sup>4</sup> The list of the numbers and the places of occurrences of the synonyms based on *Amarakośa* 2.6.51ab is as follows:

Place	<i>ruj-</i>	* <i>rujā-</i>	<i>upatāpa-</i>	<i>roga-</i>	<i>vyādhi-</i>	<i>ḡgada-</i>	<i>āmaya-</i>	Synonyms
P.	—	2.3.54	5.2.128 7.3.61	3.3.108 4.3.13 5.2.81 5.4.49 6.3.51	—	6.3.70	—	3
VT.	—	1 on 5.2.122	1 on 3.3.16 1 on 6.4.24	—	—	1 on 6.3.70	2 on 5.2.122	3
MBH.	—	2.3.54	VT.1 on 3.3.16 VT.1 on 5.2.122	VT.5 on 3.1.67 8.4.61	VT.11 on 1.3.1 3.3.17	VT.1 on 6.3.70	VT.2 on 5.2.122	5

four times in the ordinary sense of 'change' in 2.3.20 (*aṅgavikāra*-), 4.1.42 (*ayovikāra*-), 4.3.134 '*tasya vikāraḥ*' and 6.3.39 (*vikāra*-, i.e., 4.3.134). Therefore, in Pāṇini's Grammar, it could amount to expressing the sense 'disease' only when it is construed with such a word as *aṅga*- 'a member (of the body)'.<sup>5</sup> Thus Kātyāyana's *śarīravikāra*- 'change of the body' almost corresponds to Pāṇini's *aṅgavikāra*- 'change of a member (of the body)' > 'deformation of a member (of the body)' > 'deformity'.

With regard to Pāṇini's and Kātyāyana's vocabulary, the interpretations of one and the same word *upatāpa*- by modern scholars such as Vasu, Böhtlingk (*Grammatik*), Renou (*Grammaire*) and Katre are not in perfect accord, except for the case of 5.2.128 ('disease'). Böhtlingk, however, gives the meaning 'disease' in every occurrence except VT.1 on 6.4.24 (not cited there) in the *PW*, though he is as silent about the relation between *upatāpa*- and *śarīravikāra*- as, among others, the *Kāśikā*. It is not only natural but also reasonable that one and the same word is interpreted differently according to its context, but does the same apply to the present word *upatāpa*-?

The points to be kept in mind in interpreting the additional rule of Kātyāyana in question are:

- 1) Does P.1.3.10 '*yathāsaṅkhyam ...*' prescribing one-to-one correspondence based on the order of enumeration apply or not?
- 2) Does the word *upatāpa*- mean 'disease', 'affliction/difficulty' or anything else?
- 3) What does the word *śarīravikāra*- 'change of the body' mean: 'deformity', 'corpulence' or something else?
- 4) Is the compound *upatāpaśarīravikāra*- really a two-membered copulative compound (*dvandva*-), on which not only commentators but also modern scholars agree?

#### I. The interpretation of Kaiyaṭa followed by Haradatta and Nāgeśa

When one describes in traditional Sanskrit grammar the meaning or value of such an element as a root or a suffix, or that of such a word as

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\**rujā*:- Employed as an action noun denoting 'action of afflicting' in order to express the meaning of certain roots in question, not as an agent noun conventionally denoting 'disease'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Rājanighaṇṭu* (13th or 14th cent.) 20.1 '*gado ... tamovikāra... mṛtyubhṛtyāḥ*' (19 synonyms).

a derivative, or that of a ready-made word-form, one often employs the locative case. Examples are:

- 1) DH.1.1031 'gam! gatau': The root  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$  [is used] in [denoting] the sense of going.
- 2) P.3.4.67 'kartari kṛt': The primary suffix [is applied after a root] in [denoting] the sense of agent.
- 3) MBH. on P.3.3.17 'vyādhimatsyabaleṣu': [The primary suffix -a {ghañ} is applied after the root  $\sqrt{\text{sr}}$  'to go' even] in [denoting] the sense of [unsteady agent, when it matters that the derivatives in question conventionally denote] 'disease', 'fish' and 'strength' [respectively].
- 4) P.7.3.61 'bhujanyubjau pānyupatāpayoh': The ready-made word-forms *bhuja-* and *nyubja-*[, where the gutturalisation of the palatal *j* before a suffix endowed with the index *gh* does not occur in spite of P.7.3.52 prescribing it, are employed] in [denoting conventionally] the sense of 'hand' and 'disease' [respectively].

Taking into account Kaiyaṭa's explanation:

*vilagita iti. gatyarthatvāt kartari ktaḥ. kṛcchraprāptir atrôpatāpo grhyate na tu rogaḥ. yathā 'dvandvôpatāpagarhyāt ...' (= P.5.2.128) iti. anyathā śārīravikāragrahaṇam kevalam kuryāt. vikapita iti. 'gatyarthākarmaka...' (= P.3.4.72) iti gatyarthatvāt kartari ktaḥ. śārīravikāro 'tra vyādhir ucyate na tu sthauilyādi, kamper a-tadviṣayatvāt,*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Translation:

'[The comment on the word] "*vilagita-*" [cited as an example in the *Mahābhāṣya* is as follows]: [The accretion -n- {num} is attached to the penultimate place of the root  $\sqrt{\text{lag}}$  "to go" according to P.7.1.58.] Because [the accreted root  $\sqrt{\text{la} \cdot \text{n} \cdot \text{g}}$  is possessed] of the [same] meaning "to go" [that the original root  $\sqrt{\text{lag}}$  has], [the primary suffix] -ta {kta} is [attached to the root  $\sqrt{\text{la} \cdot \text{n} \cdot \text{g}}$ ] in the sense of agent [according to P.3.4.72. Then the accretion -i- {iṭ} is attached to the head of the suffix -ta {kta} according to P.7.2.35. And the accretion -n- {num} disappears according to VT.1 on P.6.4.24. Finally the preverb *vi-* is placed before the root according to P.1.4.80. Thus the present form *vi-la°g-i-ta-* is obtained]. Here [in the present additional rule, the sense of] the word *upatāpa-* is understood to be *kṛcchraprāpti* "attainment of affliction", but not *roga-* "disease" as in P.5.2.128 "*dvandvôpatāpagarhyāt ...*". Otherwise, [Kātyāyana] should have mentioned only the word *śārīravikāra-* "change [for the worse] of the body" [in order to avoid the absurdity of a



it is certain that Kaiyaṭa takes it for granted that P.1.3.10 'yathāsaṅkhyam ...' prescribing one-to-one correspondence based on the order of enumeration is valid here, and that the mention 'upatāpaśārīravikārayoh' in the locative expresses the meanings of the roots √lag and √kap respectively, for an accretion (such as -n- {num}) does not change the meaning of an original element at all.

If the word *upatāpa-* were synonymous with the word *roga-* 'disease', the absurdity of a tautology would follow because the word *śārīra-vikāra-* 'change of the body' also means 'disease' (*roga-*). So the word *upatāpa-* must be interpreted as signifying something different from 'disease'. Conveniently, this word is also synonymous with the word *kṛcchra-* 'affliction/difficulty', which is usually regarded as an agent noun ('that which afflicts').<sup>7</sup> But, if one interprets the word *upatāpa-* 'affliction' as an agent noun ('that which afflicts' < 'that which causes one to feel pain' < 'that which causes one to be feverish')<sup>8</sup> just like the word *kṛcchra-*, the root √lag amounts to denoting an agent. This is absurd be-

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tautology, which reveals that he did not employ the word *upatāpa-* in the sense of disease. Therefore the meaning of the word *vilagita-* is "one that has attained to affliction", that is, "afflicted". [The comment on the word] "*vikapita-*" [is as follows]: Because [the accreted root √ka.n.p is possessed] of the [same] meaning 'to move' [that the original root √kap (DH.1.400 "*kapi calane*"; √cal/√car: Mayrhofer, p.534, Gotō, pp.133-136 etc.) has], [the primary suffix] -ta {kta} [is attached to the root √ka.n.p] in the sense of agent according to P.3.4.72 "*gatyarthākarmaka ...*". Here [the sense of] the word *śārīravikāra-* is expressed as *vyādhi-* "disease", but not as *sthaulya-* "corpulence" and the like because the root √kap does not have as object such a meaning.'

Nāgeśa comments:

*vigalita*(sic!)*vikapitayor yathākramam kṛcchraprāptavyādhitāv arthaḥ. kṛcchraprāptiḥ mānasam duḥkham. gatyarthatvād iti. vastuto 'karmakatvāt kartari ktaḥ* [DH.10.160 '*gala sravaṇe*' or DH.1.579 '*gala adane*' (and '*sravaṇe*' according to *Kṣīratarāṅgīnī*). The root √gal does not have as index the short vowel i.].

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Uṇādisūtra* 2.20 '*kṛteś chaḥ krū ca*' (2.13 '*... rak*') (*kṛntati janān kṛcchram*) and *Śabdakalpadruma* pt.2,p.174 '*kṛntati sukham*' (P.3.4.69 '*lah ...*', 67 '*kartari kṛt*'). Cf. also P.3.3. 1, 6.1.73 and 8.4.40.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. P.3.1.26, 7.2.116, 3.1.134 and 6.4.51. The sense of the root (*upa*)√tap is 'to afflict' < 'to cause one to suffer with' as, among others, in *Carakasāṣhitā*, *Vimāna*.1.5: *doṣāḥ punas trayo vātapittaśleṣmāṇaḥ. te ... vikṛtim āpannās tu khalu nānāvidhair vikārāiḥ śārīram upatāpayanti.*

cause a root denotes an action or a state,<sup>9</sup> not an agent. Accordingly a word put in the locative in order to express the sense of a root must be interpreted as an action noun<sup>10</sup> or as a noun expressing a state.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, if one regards the word *upatāpa*- ‘affliction’ as an action noun denoting ‘action of afflicting’,<sup>12</sup> the root *√lag* means ‘to afflict’. Inconveniently, the transitive meaning ‘to afflict’ is not compatible with the registered intransitive meaning of the root *√lag* ‘to go’ though this root takes a direct object. Therefore, in order to make the root *√lag* ‘to go’ express the intransitive meaning ‘to suffer/be afflicted with’, Kaiyaṭa had to paraphrase the word *upatāpa*- ‘affliction’ into *kṛcchraprāpti*- ‘attainment of affliction’, i.e., ‘action of attaining of affliction’. Thus the word *vilagita*- means ‘one who has attained to affliction’, that is, ‘afflicted’. On the other hand, the word *śarīravikāra*- ‘change of the body’, i.e., ‘action of changing [from an original state to another] with regard to the body’ is paraphrased by *vyādhi*-<sup>13</sup> ‘disease’ which is etymologically an action noun, not by *sthaulya*- ‘corpulence’, i.e., ‘the state of being corpulent’ and the like. So the root *√kap*, the registered meaning of which is ‘to tremble’ and which takes no direct object, amounts to expressing the

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Nyāsa* on 1.3.13 ‘*bhāva iti dhātvarthaḥ kriyātmaka ucyate*’. Some difficult points centreing on *bhāva*-, such as ‘What is *bhāva*-?’, ‘Is *bhāva*- an action or a state?’, are set aside here; see Renou (*Terminologie*), pp.243f.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. DH.8.10 ‘*dukṛñ karāṇe*’ (P.3.3.115, 3.3.114 ‘*napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*’), DH.1.813 ‘*jvara roge*’ (P.3.3.18 ‘*bhāve*’), DH.1.1031 ‘*gam! gatau*’ (P.3.3.94 ‘*striyām ...*’, 18 ‘*bhāve*’) etc.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. DH.1.1 ‘*bhū sattāyām*’ (P.5.1.119 ‘*tasya bhāvas tvatalau*’), DH.1.1030 ‘*ṇama prahvatve*’ (P.5.1.119), DH.1.595-598 ‘*pīva mīva tīva ṇīva sthaulye*’ (P.5.1.124, 5.1.119 ‘*tasya bhāvas ...*’) etc. Thus the root *√bhū* is employed in denoting ‘the state of being’, that is, it means ‘to be’. Similarly the root *√pīv* is used in denoting ‘the state of being fat’, i.e., ‘fatness’; in other words, it means ‘to be fat’.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. P.3.3.18 and 7.2.116. According to Kaiyaṭa’s interpretation, the root (*upa*)*√tap* is not intransitive, denoting ‘to suffer/be afflicted with’ < ‘to feel pain’ < ‘to become feverish’ as in, for example, *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* 4.1.1: *āhitāgniś ced upatapet prācyām udīcyām aparājītāyām vā diśy udavasyet* (‘to suffer with disease’ > ‘to become ill’), but transitive, denoting ‘to afflict’ < ‘to fever’ as in, among others, *Carakasamhitā*, *Vimāna*.6.16-18: *tatra vātalasya vātaprakopañāny āsevamānasya kṣipraṃ vātaḥ prakopam āpadyate, na tathētarau doṣau. sa tasya prakopam āpanno yathōktair vikāraiḥ śarīram upa-  
tapati ...*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. P.3.3.92 ‘... *kih*’ (3.3.18 ‘*bhāve*’) and 6.4.64.



meaning ‘to tremble [with such a disease as tremor]’. Thus the word *vikapita-* means ‘one who has trembled [with such a disease as tremor]’, that is, ‘tremulous’.

## II. The meaning of *upatāpa-* according to Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali

With regard to the word *upatāpa-* in P.5.2.128 ‘*dvandvôpatāpagarhyāt prāṇisthād inih*’ (5.2.94: ‘*tad asyāsty asminn iti*’), the *Kāśikā* paraphrases it into *roga-* ‘disease’, and cites the words *kuṣṭhin-* (< *kuṣṭha-*) and *kilāsin-* (< *kilāsa-*).<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali comments on the present rule. In spite of their silence, the following points are clear:

- 1) What matters here is the meaning ‘disease’ expressed by the word *upatāpa-*, not the word-form *upatāpa-* itself in spite of P.1.1.68 ‘*svam rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasamjñā*’. Otherwise, the derived form would be *upatāpin-*, which is also derived by the preceding P.5.2.115 ‘*ata inithanau*’. So the mention of ‘*upatāpa-*’ would amount to an absurdity.
- 2) Further, the crucial point is not the meaning ‘disease in general’, but the meaning ‘a specific kind of disease’. In other words, the word *upatāpa-* does not refer to such a synonym as *roga-* or *vyādhi-*, but to a noun denoting ‘a specific kind of disease’ such as the skin-diseases *kuṣṭha-* or *kilāsa-*. Firstly, with regard to the word *roga-*, the reason is the same as given in 1), while, in the case of *vyādhi-*, the word *vyādhin-* with the sense ‘ill’ is not attested. Secondly, the derivatives *rogita-* and *vyādhita-* denoting ‘ill’ are derived by P.5.2.36 ‘*tad asya sañjātaṃ tārakādibhya itac*’. Thirdly, the words *vāta-* and *atisāra-* in the next sūtra, P.5.2.129 ‘*vātātisārabhyām kuk ca*’ (128 ‘... *inih*’), suggest that the word *upatāpa-* in P.5.2.128 denotes ‘a specific kind of disease’ because both *vāta-*<sup>15</sup> and *atisāra-*<sup>16</sup> ‘diarrhoea/dysentery’ are

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, *Baudhāyanapitṛmedhasūtra* 3.5.2 and *Carakasamhitā*, Sūtra. 19.3f., Nidāna.5, Cikitsā.7. See also *Suśrutasamhitā*, Nidāna.5.17: *kilāsam api kuṣṭhavikalpa eva ... kuṣṭhakilāsayor antaram. tvaggatam eva kilāsam aparisrāvi ca ...*, and *Amara-kośa* 2.6.61a.

<sup>15</sup> According to Āyurveda, *vāta-*, one of three *doṣa-*s, conventionally expresses *vātaroga-* (cf. *Amarakośa* 2.6.59c and *Rājanighaṇṭu* 20.47). See Cakrapāṇidatta (*vāta eva vyādhir vātavyādhir iti pakṣe ...*) on *Carakasamhitā*, Cikitsā.28.1-2 and *Bhāvaprakāśa* cited in *Śabdakalpadruma* pt.4, pp.325f.:



nouns denoting 'a specific kind of disease'. Besides, according to the *Kāśikā*, the formulation of P.5.2.129 does not amount to an absurdity, for this rule aims at the accretion of *-k-* {*kuk*} in the case of the words *vāta-* (> *vāta.k-in-*) and *atisāra-* (> *atisāra.k-in-*) only.

- 3) If the word *upatāpa-* meant *kṛcchra-* 'affliction/difficulty', the word *kṛcchrin-*, which is attested in P.3.2.130 '... *akṛcchrinī*', would be derived by the present P.5.2.128. But this word is also derived from the word *kṛcchra-* by P.5.2.131 '*sukhādibhyaś ca*' (128 '... *iniḥ*'). Accordingly it would be absurd to register the word *kṛcchra-* (G.247.4) under the heading '*sukhādini*' in the *Gaṇapāṭha*'s list of words. This reveals that the word *upatāpa-* does not mean *kṛcchra-* 'affliction/difficulty'.

The word *upatāpa-* mentioned in P.7.3.61 '*bhujanyubjau pānyupatāpayoh*' denotes 'a specific kind of disease', neither 'disease in general' nor *kṛcchra-* 'affliction/difficulty'. In other words, the word *nyubja-* denotes '[a specific kind of disease called] hunchback', not 'a hunchback' nor '(a) hunchbacked (person)'. According to Pāṇini, the word *nyubja-*, signifying etymologically 'that because of which a hunchback lies in bed',<sup>17</sup> denotes conventionally '[a specific kind of disease called]

*rogaviśeṣaḥ. ...*

*eta evāśītisaṅkhyā rogā yogena rūḍhitāḥ*

*vātavyādhīti nāmāno munibhiḥ parikīrtitāḥ.*

*eta eva śirograhādaya eva. yogena vātena. vātād vā vyādhir vātavyādhir iti niruktyā tadā vātajvarādiṣv api prasāṅgaḥ syād ata āha rūḍhitāḥ prasiddhitāḥ. śirograhādayo 'śītir* (cf. *Carakasamhitā*, Sūtra.20.11 and *Cikitsā*.28.206) *eva vātavyādhisaṃjñā prasiddhā na tu vātajvarādayaḥ.*

See *Mādhavanidāna* 22.74ab (*sarvāṅgakampaḥ śirasō vāyur vepathusaṃjñakaḥ*), where the term *vāyu-* synonymous with *vāta-* is used in the same sense.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, *Carakasamhitā*, Sūtra.19.3-4 and *Cikitsā*.19 (*atisāra-* = *atisāra-* according to P.6.3.122). Neither *vāta-* nor *atisāra-* is attested in other fields than grammar and lexicon (cf. *Amarakośa* 2.6.59cd), except for *Suśrutasamhitā*, Uttara.40.21, which is cited in *Mādhavanidāna* 3.18. In *Āyurveda*, *atisāra-* (P.5.2.128) is common in spite of P.5.2.129.

<sup>17</sup> *ny-ubj-* (DH.6.20) > *ny-ubj-a-* (P.3.3.121 '*halaś ca*'; 117 '*karaṇādhikaraṇayoh*' 118 '*pum̐si saṃjñāyām ...*', 120 '*... ghañ*'), *-a* {*ghañ*} *gh-it*). It seems that the value of the seventh case ending, i.e., the *adhikaraṇa-* 'locus' connotes the *nimitta-* 'cause' (< the *ādhāra-* 'prop' on which depends the realisation of the action of lying in bed), though this is explicitly laid down nowhere and is unrelated to the *nimittasaptamī-* prescribed in

hunchback'. On the other hand, both Kātyāyana and Patañjali say that this word etymologically means 'that which causes one to become a hunchback'<sup>18</sup> and conventionally denotes '[a specific kind of disease called] hunchback'. In short, they interpret the word *nyubja-* as an agent noun denoting '[a specific kind of disease called] hunchback', though this word is usually a qualificative adjective denoting 'hunchbacked'.<sup>19</sup>

With regard to the word *upatāpa-* mentioned in VT.1 '*sprśa upatāpe*' on P.3.3.16 '*padarujaviśasprśo ghañ*', it would be reasonable to consider it as expressing a particular meaning of the root *√sprś*, in other words, as an action noun denoting 'action of afflicting'. Firstly, the word *upatāpa-* is used to express the meaning of such a root as *√kliś* or *√du* in the *Dhātupāṭha*'s list of roots, for example, DH.4.52a '*kliśa upatāpe*' or DH.5.10 '*tudu upatāpe*'. Secondly, the mode of expression '*sprśa upatāpe*' corresponds to DH.6.128 '*sprśa saṁsparśane*'. Thirdly, it is not rare to modify the registered meaning of a root or to define anew a particular meaning of a root in an additional rule, for example, VT.8 on P.1.3.21 '*śapa upalambhane*' (cf. DH.1.1049 or 4.59 '*śapa ākrośe*'), where it is not a question of any derivatives, but of the reflexive personal ending (*ātmanepada-*). So VT.1 on P.3.3.16 '*sprśa*<sup>20</sup> *upatāpe*' would mean:

'[With regard to the root *√sprś* among the above-mentioned roots, the present suffixation of *-a* {*ghañ*} denoting an agent according to P.3.4.67 "*kartari kṛt*" takes place only when] the root *√sprś* [is used] in [denoting] the [particular] sense of action of afflicting[, not in the registered sense of action of touching].'

Therefore the primary derivative *sparśa-* denotes 'that which afflicts', such as 'affliction', 'disease' and the like.

But I presume that it is more reasonable to interpret the mention

VT.6 on P.2.3.36. The gutturalisation of the palatal *j* before a *gh-it* suffix according to 7.3.52 is prevented by 7.3.61.

<sup>18</sup> *ny-ubj-* > *ny-ubj-i-* (P.3.1.26, *-i-* {*ñic*}) > *ny-ubj-i-a-* (3.1.134, *-a* {*ac*}, '*kartari*' according to 3.4.67) > *ny-ubj-°-a-* (6.4.51).

<sup>19</sup> The word *nyubja-* in the sense '[a specific kind of disease called] hunchback' is not attested. In Āyurveda, the name of this disease is usually expressed by the word *kubjatva-* or *kubjatā-*.

<sup>20</sup> *sprśa* is a technical notation at the same time endowed with the index *a* and devoid of a case ending.



in the locative as being used to express the conventional meaning of a derivative, not of a root when the primary suffixation is in question.

Firstly, the mention of '*dhānya-*' in the locative in P.3.3.48 '*nau vṛ dhānye*' (3.1.91 '*dhātoḥ*', 3.3.16 '*... ghañ*', 3.3.19 '*akartari ca kārake sam-jñāyām*') is, for example, used to express the conventional meaning of the primary derivative *nīvāra-* used as a masculine noun, that is, 'a specific kind of grain (*dhānya-*) called *nīvāra-*', i.e., 'wild rice'. Secondly, it is clear that the mention '*vyādhimatsyabaleṣu*' in the locative in *Mahābhāṣya* on the following P.3.3.17 '*sṛ sthire*' (the mode of expression of which apparently corresponds to DH.1.982 '*sṛ gatau*') is used to express the conventional meanings of the primary derivatives of the root *√sṛ* 'to go' (*vyādhimatsyabaleṣv iti vaktavyam. atīsāro vyādhiḥ. viśāro matsyaḥ. bale. śālasāraḥ khadirasāraḥ*).<sup>21</sup> Thus the present additional rule '*sprśa*<sup>22</sup> *upatāpe*' means:

'With regard to the root *sprś-*[, the present suffixation of *-a* {*ghañ*} denoting an agent takes place only when the primary derivative is used] in [denoting] the [conventional] sense of a specific kind of disease.'

Therefore the primary derivative *sparśa-* denotes etymologically 'that which touches' and conventionally 'a specific kind of disease' (*upatāpa-*, which infects by contact and so is called *sparśa-*), that is, 'a contagious disease'<sup>23</sup> as has already been pointed out by Candrakīrti on P.1.3.7, Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa (*Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara*, Part III, p.2122).

<sup>21</sup> In the edition by Bhikajijosi et al. (p.222), this portion of the *Mahābhāṣya* is preceded by the expression *vyādhimatsyabaleṣu* (when the senses 'disease', 'fish' and 'strength' are to be expressed) (wrongly cited as 3.2.17). This gives rise to a problem which is discussed in the Appendix below.

<sup>22</sup> To be interpreted as the genitive singular of *sprś-*: *sprśa* (P.8.3.19) < *sprś-ay* (8.3.17) < *sprś-ar* (8.2.66) < *sprś-as* (4.1.2).

<sup>23</sup> Kaiyaṭa on this: *sparśo nāma vyādhiviśeṣaḥ*. Bhairavamiśra (on the *Laghuśabden-  
duśekhara*, Part II, p.820): *mūle sprśatīti sparśa iti. rogaviśeṣasya samjñēyam*. See Ag-  
rawala, p.123: 'an ailment, probably contracted by touch or infection', and Katre (p.277  
of his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* edition): 'contagious disease'. Except for the *Śabdaratnāvalī* (p.172:  
*sparśaḥ ... rogabhede nigadyate*), lexicographers give the word *sparśa-* the following mean-  
ings: *upatāpṛ-* (*Amarakośa* 3.2.14d), *roga-* (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* 3.3.987a), *rujā-* (*Maṅkhakośa*  
558a, *Medinīkośa*, *Viśvaprakāśa*), *ruj-* (*Anekārthasaṅgraha* 2.559d). But the word *sparśa-*  
is not attested in these senses.



### III. The correspondence of śārīravikāra- with aṅgavikāra-

According to P.2.3.20 'yenāṅgavikārah' (18 '... tṛtīyā'), the third case ending is applied to a nominal stem expressing a member of the body if a change of the body<sup>24</sup> is indicated by the deformed member. The *Kāśikā* gives such examples as *akṣṇā kāṇaḥ*<sup>25</sup> 'blind in one eye', *pādena khañjah*<sup>26</sup> 'lame in one foot' and *pāṇinā kuṇiḥ*<sup>27</sup> 'crooked in one hand'. Judging from these examples and the example *kirīṇā [kṛtaḥ] kāṇaḥ kirikāṇaḥ* 'one who has been made blind in one eye by a boar' cited in the *Kāśikā* on P.2.1.30 'tṛtīyā tatkr̥tārthena guṇavacanena', it is clear that a word expressing the 'change of a member (of the body)' (aṅgavikāra-) such as *kāṇa-* 'blind in one eye', *khañja-* 'lame in one leg' or *kuṇi-* 'crooked in one hand', is a qualificative adjective (guṇavacana-). And it is also clear that the 'change of a member (of the body)' (aṅgavikāra-) indicates the 'change of the body' (śārīravikāra-) caused by a specific kind of disease. Accordingly it means 'deformity due to a specific kind of disease', not 'corpulence' (*sthaulya-*) and the like, which manifests itself in the whole body, not in a member of the body, and is not normally caused by a disease.

### IV. A working hypothesis

1) The word *gati-* 'going' is an action noun derived from the root √gam 'to go'. And the central concept of the meaning 'to go' is 'the movement from one place to another'. It is, therefore, not only natural but also reasonable that the ways of going are varied according to situations. Thus, 'to go' involves, for example, (DH.4.60 '*pada gatau*') 'to go

<sup>24</sup> See MBH. on VT.1 on P.2.3.20: *aṅgaśabdo 'yaṁ samudāyaśabdaḥ ... yenāvayave-na samudāyo 'ṅgī dyotyate*. In other words, *aṅga-* 'a member' > *aṅga-a-* 'that to which a member belongs', i.e., 'the body' (P.5.2.127, -a {ac}, G.13) > *aṅg°-a-* (= *aṅg°-in-*!), P.6.4.148). Cf. Nyāsa and Padamañjarī on the *Kāśikā* on P.2.3.20.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Abhidānacintāmaṇi* (p.80) '*kāṇaḥ kanana ekadr̥k*' and *Śabdaratnāvalī* (p.207) '*kāṇaḥ kākāikacakṣuṣoḥ*'.

<sup>26</sup> *Suśrutasamhitā*, Nidāna.1.77: *vāyuh katyām sthitaḥ sakthnaḥ kaṇḍarām ākṣiped yadā | khañjas tadā bhaved jantuh paṅguḥ sakthnor dvayor vadhāt*, which is cited both in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Nidāna.15.45 and in *Mādhavanidāna* 22.59. Therefore, according to Āyurveda, *khañja-* means 'lame in one thigh' (*sakthnā khañjah*), that is, 'lame in one leg'.

<sup>27</sup> *Nibandhasaṅgraha* on *Suśrutasamhitā*, Śārīra.2.51, 3.18 and 6.24: *kuṇiḥ vikala-pāṇir \*vikṛtaḥastah saṅkucitabāhumadhyah*, and *Sarvāṅgasundarā* on *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Śārīra.4.9: *kuṇitvaṁ bāhupāṇyaṅgulikubjatā*.

on foot', (DH.1.982 '*śr gatau*') 'to go flowing', (DH.1.632 '*dhāvu gatiśuddhyoḥ*') 'to go running', (DH.1.591 '*... cara gatyarthāḥ*') 'to go wandering', (DH.1.898 '*pat! gatau*') 'to go flying/falling', (DH.1.1032 '*śrp! gatau*') 'to go crawling', (DH.1.252 '*khaji gativaikalye*') 'to go (badly) limping' and the like. In other words, these roots amount to denoting exclusively such a differentiated meaning as 'to walk', 'to flow', 'to run', 'to wander', 'to fly/fall', 'to crawl', 'to limp (badly)' etc., or to denoting the differentiated meaning in addition to the registered meaning 'to go'. In the same manner, the present root *lag* (DH.1.154 '*lagi ... gatyarthāḥ*') denotes, I presume, 'to trudge/limp' in addition to the registered meaning 'to go'. In other words, the root *lag* is synonymous with the root *khaj*. This presumption is not necessarily absurd because Vopadeva registers the root *lag* in his *Kavikalpadruma* (94c) as follows: '*lagi gatau khañje*' ('the root *lag* in the sense of both going and limping'). And, according to B.P. Tripāṭhī, p.413, this root is also registered in the sense of both going and limping (*khañjane*) in Hemacandra[*'s Dhātupāṭha*].

2) The compound '*upatāpaśarīravikārayoḥ*' is not a copulative compound (*dvandva*-) denoting 'a specific kind of disease and the change of the body', but a determinative compound (*tatpuruṣa*-) denoting 'the change of the body due to a specific kind of disease', that is, 'deformity caused by a specific kind of disease', according to P.2.1.4 '*saha supā*' (2 '*sub ...*') (*Mahābhāṣya* on this: *adhikāraś ca lakṣaṇam ca yasya samāsas-yānyal lakṣaṇam nāstīdam tasya lakṣaṇam bhaviṣyati*)<sup>28</sup> in connection with P.2.3.23 '*hetau*' (18 '*... tṛtīyā*'). Thus Pāṇini's *aṅgavikāra*- 'change of a member (of the body)' > 'deformation of a member (of the body)' > 'deformity' corresponds to Kātyāyana's *upatāpaśarīravikāra*- 'change of the body caused by a specific kind of disease', that is, 'deformity due to a specific kind of disease'. Therefore the present additional rule means:

'With regard to the roots *la(n)g* "to go/limp" and *ka(n)p* "to tremble", [the disappearance of the penultimate *n* takes place only] when it is a question of expressing "two different kinds of deformity due to [such] a specific kind of disease [as *vātavyā-dhi*-]".'

And the present *śarīravikāra*- 'change of the body' > 'deformity' is a

<sup>28</sup> '[This is not only] a heading but also an operational rule. [Therefore] this will be [valid as] the operational rule of a compound another operational rule of which is not [laid down in the Grammar].'



generic concept, and what really matters is, of course, such a specific deformity as *kāṇatva-* 'blindness in one eye' (> *kāṇa-* 'blind in one eye') or *khañjatva-*<sup>29</sup> 'lameness in one leg' (> *khañja-* 'lame in one leg'), as we have seen above with regard to *upatāpa-* 'disease' where it is a question of such a specific disease as *kuṣṭha-* 'a certain skin-disease', *atisāra-* 'diarrhoea/dysentery', *nyubja-* 'hunchback' or *sparsa-* 'contagious disease'.

### V. Conclusion<sup>30</sup>

The word *vilagita-* means 'one who[se member of the body has undergone a specific deformation because of such a disease as *vāta-* in such a way that he] has limped in one leg', that is, 'limping/lame in one leg' (= *khañja-*). The word *vikapita-* means 'one who[se member of the body has undergone a specific deformation because of such a disease as *vepathu-*<sup>31</sup> "tremor" in such a way that he] has trembled in one member', that is, 'trembling/tremulous in one member' (= *vepana-*; cf. P.3.3. 113 '*kṛtya-lyuṭo bahulam*'). Why is the mention of '(*upatāpa-śārīra*)*vikāra-*', i.e. 'change', indispensable? In the normal state, one neither limps nor trembles. In other words, the present disappearance of the penultimate *n* does not occur if the change from the original or normal state to another is not in question, as in such a case as *vilāṅgito* (*devadattaḥ*) '(Devadatta) has gone away'. Why is the mention of (*upatāpa*)*śārīra*(*vikāra-*), i.e. '(change of) the body', indispensable? Because the present disappearance of the penultimate *n* does not occur if (the change of) the body is not in question, as in such a case as *sugandhi-niḥśvāsavikampitôtpalam ... madyam*<sup>32</sup> 'liquor in which a blue water lily is shaking with sweet-smelling breath'. Why is the mention of *upatāpa*-(*śārīravikāra-*), i.e. '(change of the body due to) a specific kind of disease' indispensable? Because the present disappearance of the penultim-

<sup>29</sup> For example, *Carakasamhitā*, Sūtra.20.11, 20.12 (*khañjatā-*), *Cikitsā*.28.21 (*khāñjya-*).

<sup>30</sup> Here ascertaining the exact value of the preverb *vi-* is set aside, though the *PW* gives it several values according to, among others, *Medinikośa* (*avyayavarga-*) 76-77ab.

<sup>31</sup> *Mādhavanidāna* 22.74ab: *sarvāṅgakampah śirasō vāyur vepathusamjñakah. Madhukośa* on this: *śirasah kampa iti sambandhaḥ. śira ity avayavopalakṣaṇam, tena hastāder api kampo vepathur ity arthah.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ṛtusamhāra* 5.10. See also 1.3 (*priyāmukhōcchvāsavikampitaṁ madhu*).



ate *n* does not occur if (the change of the body due to) a specific kind of disease is not in question, as in such a case as *vilāṅgitaḥ*<sup>33</sup> (*pathikaḥ*) '(a traveller) who is dragging himself' or *vikampito*<sup>34</sup> (*'rjunaḥ*) '(Arjuna) who has trembled [with anguish<sup>35</sup>]'. Why is the dual *upatāpaśarīra-vikārayoḥ* employed, not the singular *upatāpaśarīravikāre*? In order to show that the present dual corresponds to two different roots *√la(n)g* and *√ka(n)p*, just as the dual *pratiṣedhayoḥ* corresponds to two different particles *alam* and *khalu* in P.3.4.18 '*alamkhalvoḥ pratiṣedhayoḥ prācāṃ ktvā*' (3.1.91 '*dhātoḥ*'): 'According to Eastern Grammarians, the primary suffix *-tvā* {*ktvā*} is attached to a root when the particles *alam* and *khalu* respectively denote "prohibition".'

## APPENDIX

On p.97 attention was drawn to the comments of the *Mahābhāṣya* on P.3.3.17 '*sṛ sthire*', namely:

*vyādhimatsyabaleṣv iti vaktavyam. atisāro vyādhiḥ. visāro matsyaḥ. bale. śālasāraḥ khadirasāraḥ.*

In the edition by Bhikajijosi et al., this portion of the *Mahābhāṣya* is preceded by the expression *vyādhimatsyabaleṣu* (when the senses 'disease', 'fish' and 'strength' are to be expressed). In this case the expression is an additional rule of Kātyāyana to P.3.3.17, as is usually the case, not of Patañjali himself. P.3.3.17 '*sṛ sthire*' (with 3.1.1 '*pratyayah*', 1.2 '*paraś ca*', 1.91 '*dhātoḥ*', 3.16 '*... ghañ*', 1.93 '*kṛd ...*', 4.67 '*kartari kṛt*') provides for the following:

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Naiṣadhīyacarita* 11.109 (*khañjan prabhañjanajanaḥ pathikaḥ pipāsuh pātā kuraṅgamadapaṅkilam apy aśaṅkam*). Nārāyaṇa's *Naiṣadhīyaprakāśa* explains: *khañjan vṛkṣādibāhulyena mandibhavan*.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Bhagavadgītā* 2.31: *svadharmam api cāveksya na vikampitum arhasi*.

<sup>35</sup> Supplied according to the preceding verse 2.30d: *na tvam śocitum arhasi*. On anguish as a cause of disease, attention may be drawn to *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Sūtra.1.23-25, which classifies disease, according to its cause, into four categories, namely, (1) exogenous, (2) bodily, (3) mental and (4) due to one's own nature:

*tadduḥkhasaṃyogā vyādhaya ucyante. te caturvidhā āgantavaḥ śārīrā mānasāḥ svābhāvikaś cēti teṣāṃ āgantavo 'bhighātanimittāḥ. śārīrās tv annapānamūlā vātapittakaphaśonitasannipātavaṣaṃyanimittāḥ. mānasās tu krodhaśokabhayaḥarṣaviṣādērsyābhyasūyādāinyamātsaryakāmalobhaprabhṛtaya icchādveṣabhedair bhavanti, svābhāvikaś tv kṣutpipāsājarāmṛtyunidrāprakṛ(bhṛ)tayaḥ.*

‘[After the root] √*śṛ* (“to go flowing”), [the primary suffix] *-a* {*ghan̄*} [applies] in [denoting] the sense of [a] stable [agent].’

Thus the primary derivative *sāra-* expresses a stable agent such as ‘core or solid interior part’, which corresponds, for example, to *Ṛgvedasamhitā* 3.53.19: *khadirāsya sāram*.

It is clear that the above-mentioned expression is an additional rule to P.3.3.17 aiming to extend the sphere of application of *-a* {*ghan̄*} to a specific kind of unstable agent (*asthirakarṭṛ-*), and that Patañjali cites the words *atīsāra-* ‘diarrhoea/dysentery’, *visāra-* ‘a specific kind of fish which is so named’, *śālasāra-* and *khadirasāra-* as the examples of the primary derivatives due to the additional rule, not due to P.3.3.17. If it were not necessary to extend the sphere of application of *-a* {*ghan̄*} to an unstable agent, it would be absurd to take the trouble to lay down the additional rule, because such a word expressing an unstable agent as *sāraka-* or *sarṭṛ-* is formed by a general rule, that is, P.3.1.133 ‘*ṇvulṛcau*’. If it were not necessary for Kātyāyana or Patañjali to limit the extension, or in other words, if the primary suffix *-a* {*ghan̄*} could be applied to the root √*śṛ* in order to express an unstable agent in general, (to say nothing of a stable agent in general), it would be absurd of Pāṇini to take the trouble to make mention of *sthire* in P.3.3.17.

The difficulties in interpreting the additional rule and the present portion of the *Mahābhāṣya* are:

- 1) The *Kāśikā* quotes the words *candanasāra-* and *khadirasāra-* as the examples of the derivatives due to P.3.3.17, not due to the additional rule. Thus, according to the *Kāśikā*, the words *candanasāra-* and *khadirasāra-* respectively mean ‘a solid interior part or the pith of (a) Sandal tree/wood (*Santalum album*)’ and ‘a solid interior part or the pith of (a) Cutch tree/wood (*Acacia catechu*)’ (Haradatta: *khadirāsthi, tad dṛḍhatvāt sthiram*).
- 2) According to the *PW* (pt.2, p.939), the word *candanasāra-* occurs, for example, in *Rāmāyaṇa* 2.20.33 and 2.72.6 (*liptā candanasāreṇa rājavastrāṇi vibhratī*). In this case the word would mean ‘ointment made from Sandal wood’ (= *candana-panka-*), or ‘aromatic infusion of a Sandal tree’ or ‘essential oil made from a Sandal tree’ (= *candanavāri-* in *Rāmāyaṇa* 3.45.41 *candanavāripankayoḥ*, *Mahābhārata* 5.47.4 *siktām candanavāriṇā*; = *candanarasa-* in *Ṛtusamhāra* 3.20 *hāraiḥ sacandanarasaḥ*).



- 3) The words *śālasāra*- and *khadirasāra*- appear in, among others, *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, *Cikitsāsthāna*. In 10.13 (*khadiram paritaḥ khānayitvā ... rasagrahaṇasamarthaḥ ... . khadirasāratulām udakadrone vipācyā ... sarvavṛkṣasāreṣu ... khadirasāracūṛṇatulām khadirasārakvāthamātrām vā ...*), the word *khadirasāra*- would mean 'the pith of a Cutch tree' or 'aromatic gum-resin (which has already become solid,) of a Cutch tree'. And the words *khadirôdaka*- in 10.15 and *khadiravāri*-/ *khadirāmbu*- in 9.66 mean 'decoction/infusion of a Cutch tree' (= *khadirasāra-kvātha*-/ *khadirasārakaṣāya*-). The same holds for the word *śālasāra*- in 10.10 (*śālasārâdīnām sārācūṛṇaprastham āhṛtya ... śālasārâdikaṣāyeṇa ...*).
- 4) Does the first member *śāla*- mean '(a) Sal tree/wood (*Shorea robusta*)' as the first member *khadira*- means 'a Cutch tree'? Or, does the word *śālasāra*- mean a herb different from *śāla*- 'a Cutch tree', that is, '*Ferula assafoetida*', or 'gum-resin of the herb (*Assafoetida*)', as is given in *PW*?<sup>36</sup>
- 5) What does the word *bala*- mean, 'strength' as it is usually interpreted, or something else? The followers of the *Kāśikā*, to say nothing of modern translators of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, interpret it as expressing 'strength'. If the word *bala*- meant 'strength', the meaning would not be compatible with the condition 'an unstable agent' so long as the word *sāra*- is analysed as follows: *sārayati ceṣṭayatīti kṛtvā, atrāpy antarbhāvitanyarthaḥ saratīḥ* (Haradatta). This is nothing but a strained interpretation because a causal agent is not an unstable agent, but a stable agent. Both the *Kāśikā* and Kaiyaṭa keep silent with regard to the meaning of the word *bala*-, which causes the strained interpretation of, among others, Haradatta, and the misunderstanding of modern translators, and which means either that they do not think it necessary to explain the meaning of the word *bala*- because it is well known, or that they do not understand what the word *bala*- means.

A clue to the present problem lies, I believe, in the interpretations of certain lexicographers. The meaning 'aromatic gum-resin', that is, 'a kind of myrrh', is given to the word *bala*- in such lexicons as *Trikāṇḍa*-

<sup>36</sup> Both the herb and its gum-resin are usually expressed by the word *hingu*-.



śeṣa (3.3.956), *Viśvaprakāśa* (p.148, *balam gandharase*), *Śabdaratnāvalī* (p.278), *Medinīkośa* (p.147), *Śivakośa* (p.40) and *Anekārthasaṅgraha* (p. 41, *balam ... bole*; Cf. *Amarakośa* 2.9.104). Therefore the word *sāra*- could be analysed as follows: *saratīti sārah*. The word *sāra*- etymologically expresses an unstable agent such as 'that which flows', and conventionally 'aromatic gum-resin', that is, 'a kind of myrrh'. The fact may be that these lexicographers, who face the present portion of the *Mahābhāṣya* and are at a loss how to interpret the word *bala*-, resort to the convenient interpretation that the word *bala*- is synonymous with the word *gandharasa*- 'a kind of myrrh'. But I follow them because I think that this interpretation is the most reasonable, though it is regrettable that the word *bala*- in the sense of myrrh has not been attested.

With regard to the word *visāra*- 'a specific kind of fish which is so named', there is no problem. This word is analysed, for example, as *vividham sarati* 'that which flows variously' (Haradatta).

Concerning the word *atīsāra*- 'diarrhoea/dysentery', I follow, for example, the analysis of the *Madhukośa* on the *Mādhavanidāna* 3.4: *sarati gacchaty atīva* 'that which flows excessively', that is, 'that which goes excessively' (= *Suśrutasamhitā*, Uttara.40.6), rejecting that of Haradatta (*śarīrāntarāvasthitam rudhirādidravyam sārāyati*) or that of *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* 8.16.

In conclusion, I propose, as a working hypothesis, the following interpretation:

'It must be laid down, [as an additional rule,] that [the primary suffix *-a* {ghañ} is applied to the root *√sr* even if its derivatives express unstable agents] only when the senses "a specific kind of disease", "a specific kind of fish" and "a specific kind of aromatic gum-resin" are to be expressed. [Thus the word] *atīsāra*- is [to mean etymologically "that which flows excessively" and conventionally] "a specific kind of disease" (*vyādhi*-) [which is called *atīsāra*- "diarrhoea/dysentery"]. [The word] *visāra*- is [to mean etymologically "that which flows variously" and conventionally] "a specific kind of fish" (*matsya*-) [which is called *visāra*-]. In [the sense of] "a specific kind of aromatic gum-resin" (*bale*), [the words] *śālasāra*- and *khadirasāra*- [are respectively used. In the case of the word *śālasāra*-, the first member *śāla*- expresses "a Sal tree" while the second member *sāra*- etymologically means "that which flows" and conventionally "aromatic gum-resin". Thus the compound *śālasāra*-

"aromatic gum-resin extracted from Sal wood" conventionally means "a specific kind of aromatic gum-resin" which is called *śālasāra*- because the gum-resin is secreted by a Sal tree.<sup>37</sup> The same holds for the word *khadirasāra*- "Catechu", for this is extracted from Cutch wood<sup>38, 39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The *śālasāra*- probably corresponds to *rāla*- etc. in the *Rājanighaṇṭu* p.119; cf. *Amarakośa* 2.6.127, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* p.118 and Ḍalhaṇa on *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Uttara. 51.51 *śālaniryāso rālā*, and *rāla*- (m./f.) in Hemacandra's *Līṅgānuśāsana* 82 and *Paramānandīyanāmamālā* 3647.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Rājanighaṇṭu*, p.13.

<sup>39</sup> I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Prof.Dr. Rahul Peter Das for having had the kindness to give valuable comments on my drafts and clear up some misunderstandings. Prof.Dr. Albrecht Wezler too commented upon a draft.



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*Ṛtú-, Ṛtv(i)ya-, Ātavá-*  
Weibliche "Fertilität" im Denken vedischer Inder\*

WALTER SLAJE

1. Die Untersuchung der Entstehungsgründe für den unter dem Namen "Tobiasnächte" bekanntgewordenen und lange Zeit hindurch als indogermanisch angesehenen altindischen Brauch, die ersten drei Nächte nach der Hochzeit in Keuschheit zuzubringen, führt über einen Begriff, der ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit drei enthaltsamen Nächten gebraucht wird. Es handelt sich um das Wort *ṛtú-* und die von ihm abgeleiteten, substantivierten Zugehörigkeitsadjektive *ṛtv(i)ya-* und *ātavá-*. An einer korrekten Bestimmung seines Sinnes im sekundären Schrifttum als des einer 'Menstruationsblutung' war aber zu zweifeln, als sich zeigte, daß es sich bei den Tobiasnächten ursprünglich bloß um eine rituelle Nachahmung dreier, von weiblicher Blutung charakterisierter Nächte handelte, die bei der Hochzeit einerseits zwar die (blutige) Defloration verdecken, zugleich aber auch eine Empfängnis gewährleisten sollten.<sup>1</sup> Mit 'Menstruation' ist hier nicht durchzukommen.

2. Die ununterbrochene Verwendung des Begriffes, dessen etymologisch nicht völlig geklärte Grundbedeutung — ursprünglich wohl von einem Verteilungs- zu einem Zeiteinteilungsfaktor gewandelt — periodisch wiederkehrende Zeitpunkte bzw. Zeitverläufe wie z.B. auch 'Jahreszeit' angibt,<sup>2</sup> ist seit der vedischen Epoche (RV, AV, TS) hinlänglich bezeugt. Die auf diesem Ansatz beruhende und für ganz spezifische Kontexte angegebene Bedeutung 'Menstruationsregel' aber erweist sich

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\* Für ihre an dieser Untersuchung, die im Rahmen des von der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften eingerichteten APART-Forschungsprogramms (*Austrian Programme for Advanced Research and Technology*) durchgeführt werden konnte, konstruktiv geübte Kritik fühle ich mich den Herren Prof.Dr. J.C. HEESTERMAN (Leiden und Wien), Dr. CHLODWIG WERBA (Wien) sowie Prof.Dr. ALBRECHT WEZLER (Hamburg) ein weiteres Mal außerordentlich verbunden! Herr Prof.Dr. RAHUL PETER DAS (Halle/Saale) überließ mir in zuvorkommender Weise die für die Sichtweise der medizinischen Lehrwerke relevanten Abschnitte aus seiner im Druck befindlichen Arbeit: *The Origin of the Life of a Human Being. Conception and the Female according to Ancient Indian Medical and Sexological Literature*.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. SLAJE.

<sup>2</sup> RENOU, S.21f.



dennoch als höchst fragwürdig.

Man beachte in dieser Hinsicht der Fragwürdigkeit vorerst die folgenden, aus drei vedischen Saṃhitās ausgewählten Übersetzungsproben, die eine erste Vorstellung davon geben, wie man den Begriff fassen zu können glaubte. In der daran sich anschließenden, weiterführenden Behandlung der Thematik wird sich jedoch bald zeigen, daß der Begriffsbestimmung 'Menstruation' ein kulturelles Mißverständnis zugrunde liegt, und daß — bzw. wie — der Begriff selbst in Anpassung an die indische Anschauungsweise präzisiert werden muß, damit das von ihm tatsächlich Gemeinte auch für uns verständlich wird.

2.1a. ṚV 5,46,8d (ṛtú-): vyántu ... yá ṛtúr jáninām

*Wörterbücher:* PW I, Sp.1053, s.v. ṛtú '3) die Regeln der Weiber, insbes. die unmittelbar darauffolgenden, zur Zeugung günstigen Tage'. GRASSMANN 1873, S.287: 'die Regel der Weiber'.

*Übersetzungen:* GRASSMANN 1876-1877, S.542: '... mögen kommen ..., und die der Weiber Zeiten regelt'. GELDNER: '... sollen gern kommen zu der Zeit der Frauen'. GELDNER vermutet dazu in einer Note eine gleichzeitige Anspielung 'auf den besonderen ṛtú' der Frauen.

2.1b. ṚV 10,183,2b (ṛtviya-): svāyāṃ tanū ṛtviye nādhamānām

*Wörterbücher:* PW I, Sp.1057, s.v. 2. ṛtviya '1) menstruirend, in der zum Beischlaf geeigneten Periode befindlich'. GRASSMANN 1873, S.287: 'menstruirend'.

*Übersetzungen:* GRASSMANN 1876-1877, S.430: '... für deinen Leib die Fruchtbarkeit erfliegend'. WINTERNITZ, S.90: '... flechtest um Empfängnis für deinen Leib'. GELDNER: '... wie du am eigenen Leibe zur Zeit der Regel Not littest'.

2.2a. AV 12,3,29c (ṛtviya-): yóṣeva dṛṣṭvā pátim ṛtviyāya ...

*Übersetzungen:* WHITNEY, S.688: 'Like a woman that is in her season [emendiert zu ṛtviyā yā], seeing her husband ...'. GONDA 1964/65, S.14f.: 'like a woman who has seen her husband ... "having in view the right period" i.e. so that the union will not take place after that period', wozu Anm.66: '... ṛtviya- may correctly be interpreted as equivalent to "maithuna-"'.

2.2b. AV 14,2,37a (ṛtviya-): sām pitarāv ṛtviye sṛjethām ...

*Wörterbücher:* MONIER-WILLIAMS, S.224: 'A woman [ṛtviyā, f.] in or

after her courses, a woman during the time favourable for procreation'.<sup>3</sup>

*Übersetzungen:* WHITNEY, S.760: 'unite, O ye (two) parents, the (two) things that are seasonable [Dual gemäß Padapāṭha]' ... 'it probably means the respective contributions of the two to the embryo'. GONDA 1964/65, S.14: 'At the time [Lokativ gegen Padapāṭha] after the monthly courses'.

2.3. Ohne expliziten Rekurs auf diese Stellen geben die Wörterbücher die folgenden Bedeutungen: pw I, S.262, s.v. *ṛtú*: '4) die Regeln der Weiber, *insbes.* die unmittelbar darauf folgenden, zur Empfängnis geeigneten Tage ... . — 5) der Beischlaf zu dieser Zeit'.<sup>4</sup> CAPPELLER, S.64: 'die menses der Weiber'. APTE, S.490, s.v. *ṛtuḥ* '3 Menstruation, courses, menstrual discharge. 4 A period favourable for conception'; s.v. *ṛtviya*, *ṛtvya* '3 Menstruating. 4 Being in the period most favourable to conception. *n.* Menstruation'. MYLIUS 1987, S.91, s.v. *ṛtú*- '(4) Menstruation'; s.v. *ṛtviya*:- 'Adj. menstruierend; *n.* Menstruation'. EWA, S.257, s.v. *ṛtú*:- 'Menstruationsregel'; *ṛtv(i)ya*:- 'menstruierend' (unter Berufung auf AIGR II,2, S.360;717;816).

Diese Auswahl an Beispielen macht bereits deutlich, daß — mit Ausnahme von APTE (4) — die den Zielpunkt semantisch absteckenden Pfeile der Philologen und Wörterbuchverfasser sich seit der Eintragung PW I (1855) im Laufe der Zeit zunehmend in den Begriff der 'Menstruation' zu bohren begannen, wie an MYLIUS 1987 und an dem gegenwärtig doch als Kulminationspunkt aller Vorarbeiten anzusehenden EWA (1992) erkennbar wird. Und dies, obwohl der geniale BOEHTLINGK dort (vgl. oben *sub* 2.1a;b) mit seinem an ungeheuren Textmassen geschärften, untrüglichen Instinkt zu Bedeutungsansätzen gefunden hatte, die die Zeugungsbegünstigung betonen und denen meines Wissens auch nie begründet widersprochen wurde.

Die Frage, die sich in diesem Zusammenhang allerdings stellt, ist, inwiefern diese Periode denn eigentlich als 'für den Beischlaf geeignet' anzusehen und wie genau sie mit der Menstruation im eigentlichen Sin-

<sup>3</sup> Zurückgewiesen von GONDA 1964/65, S.14, weil der von MONIER-WILLIAMS angenommene Vokativ ('O woman, ...') aufgrund der Akzentuierung nicht haltbar ist.

<sup>4</sup> Beide Bedeutungen auch von MACDONELL, S.57 in sein Wörterbuch aufgenommen: 'the menses, esp. the days immediately following and suitable for conception; sexual intercourse at such time'.



ne in Verbindung zu bringen sei. Der Versuch ihrer Beantwortung führt zum nächsten, diesmal in der *Taittirīyaśaṃhitā* des *Yajurveda* überlieferten Beleg des fraglichen Begriffes. Denn die vergleichsweise ausführlich gehaltene Stelle, in die *ṛtviya-* hier eingebettet ist, bietet zureichend Anhaltspunkte für eine Exegese auf der Ebene von *la parole*, um den konkret gemeinten Sinn des Wortes bestimmen zu können.

3. TS 2,5,1 (*ṛtviya-*): *ṛtviyāt prajāṃ vindāmahai; ṛtviyāt strīyaḥ prajāṃ vindante*

*Wörterbücher:* PW I, Sp.1057, s.v. 2. *ṛtviya* '2) n. monatliche Reinigung'; diese Bedeutungsangabe in pw I, S.263, um 'die zur Empfängnis geeignete Periode' erweitert. MONIER-WILLIAMS, S.224, s.v. *ṛtviya*: 'the time after the courses (favourable for procreation)'.

*Übersetzungen:* KEITH, S.189: 'let us obtain offspring from after the menses; therefore women obtain offspring from after the menses'. GONDA 1964/65, S.14: '... from the period after the menses'. MYLIUS 1981, S.117: 'In der Zeit nach der Monatsblutung ... Nachkommenschaft empfangen ...'. KRICK, S.511: '... auf Grund der Menstruation Nachkommenschaft zu erlangen ...'.

Die Tatsache, daß hier der Terminus *ṛtviya-* klärlich in direktem Zusammenhang mit Nachkommenschaft steht, brachte die Übersetzer, da sie dem Bedeutungsansatz 'Menstruation' folgten, in eine mißliche Lage. Wie war denn nun der Ablativ *ṛtviyāt* aufzufassen? Als Parameter für seine Interpretation wurde ersichtlich die im eigenen Kulturkreis herrschende, z.T. ja auch naturwissenschaftlich — wenngleich sehr spät<sup>5</sup> — begründete, Auffassung über derlei humanbiologische Vorgänge herangezogen. Und im sicheren Wissen, daß Frauen stets *nach* ihrer Blutung empfangen, lag es auch nahe, den frei, d.h. ohne Präpositionen und Adverbien verwendeten Ablativ als temporal gebrauchten anzusehen.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Noch im 18.Jh. herrschte in Europa die wissenschaftliche Meinung vor, das Menstrualblut bilde die Nahrungsquelle für die Föten, was anhand seines Ausbleibens während einer Schwangerschaft erwiesen sei. Vgl. dazu und zur Diskussion weiterer medizinischer Ansichten ZEDLER Bd.20, Sp.818ff. Für eine den aktuellen Wissensstand repräsentierende, graphisch gestützte Darstellung der hormonellen Steuerung der Fortpflanzung vgl. HINRICHSSEN, S.73.

<sup>6</sup> Zur Möglichkeit der freien Verwendung eines zeitlichen Ablativs vgl. SPEYER, S.16f.(§58).



Ergo: 'Zeit *nach* der Monatsblutung'!

Wozu diese erste Interpretation aber im weiteren führte, vermag die Verfolgung des Textstückes zu veranschaulichen. Das nämlich ist der Kontext, in den der Begriff eingebettet ist: TS 2,5,1 überliefert einen Mythos von der Ermordung Viśvarūpas, Tvaṣṭṛs dreiköpfigem Sohn, durch Indra.<sup>7</sup> Indra bat nacheinander die Erde, die Bäume und die Frauen, je ein Drittel dieses Brahmanenmordes (*brahmahatyā-*), dessen man ihn nun bezichtigte, auf sich zu nehmen. Alle bedingten sich dafür unterschiedliche Wünsche aus: Die Erde, daß sie, wenn aufgegraben, über ein Jahr wieder zuwachse; die Bäume, daß sie, wenn abgeholzt, nachwüchsen; die Frauen — vorerst kurz gesagt — daß sie fruchtbar seien. Allen wurde dafür jedoch auch ein Merkmal dieser "Blutschuld" am Mord zuteil: Der Erde Risse im Boden; den Bäumen rötliche Säfte bzw. Harz; den Frauen das Tragen eines blutbefleckten Kleides (*málavadvāsas-*). Der auf die Frauen bezügliche Abschnitt (TS 2,5,1,5-7) lautet:

... *sá strīṣaṁsādám úpāsidad asyái brahmahatyāyai tṛtīyaṁ prāti grhṇētí. tá abruvan váraṁ vṛṇāmahā ṛtvīyāt prajāṁ vind-āmahai kāmam ā vījanitoḥ sām bhavāméti. tásmād ṛtvīyāt strīyaḥ prajāṁ vindante kāmam ā vījanitoḥ sām bhavanti. vārevṛtaṁ hy āsām tṛtīyaṁ brahmahatyāyai prātyagrṇant. sá málavadvāsā abhavat. tásmān málavadvāsasā ná sām vadeta* ||5|| *ná sahāsita. nāsyā ánnam adyād. brahmahatyāyai hy èṣā vāraṁ pratimúcyāsté, 'tho khálv āhur abhyāñjanam vāvā striyā ánnam, abhyāñjanam evá ná pratigṛhyaṁ, kāmam anyád íti. yām málavadvāsasaṁ sambhāvanti, yás táto jáyate sò 'bhiśastó, yām áraṇye tásyai stenó, yām párācīm tásyai hrītamukhy àpagalbhó. yā snāti tásyā apsú māruko, yā* ||6|| *bhyañkté tásyai duścármā, yā pralikháte tásyai khalatír apamārí, yāñkté tásyai kāṇó, yā dató dhāvate tásyai śyāvādan, yā nakhāni nikṛntáte tásyai kunakhí, yā kṛṇátti tásyai klībó, yā rájjum sṛjāti tásyā udbándhuko, yā parṇéna píbatí tásyā unmáduko, yā kharvéna píbatí tásyai kharvás. tísro rátrīr vratám cared. añjalínā vā píbed ákharveṇa vā* ||7|| *pātreṇa prajāyai gopīthāya* ||

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. dazu HDH 2,2, S.801f.; O'FLAHERTY, S.157; MYLIUS 1981, S.116ff.; KRICK, S.510ff.; SMITH 1991, S.23.

### 3.1. Die Exegese nach europäisch-philologischer Tradition

Wenden wir uns vorerst dem letzten Teil des Abschnitts zu. Dieser Teil nämlich wurde von KEITH und von den ihm folgenden Vedisten<sup>8</sup> so übertragen bzw. gedeutet, als handle es sich um das *Verbot von Geschlechtsverkehr* sowohl zur Zeit der Menses als auch *unter ganz besonderen Umständen*, dessen üble Folgen für den Nachwuchs im Text unmittelbar anschließend geschildert würden. Denn der mit *yām málavadvāsasam sambhāvanti* beginnende Abschnitt lautet in Keiths Übersetzung: 'The son born of intercourse with (a woman) with stained garments is accursed; (the son born) of intercourse in the forest is a thief; (the son born) of intercourse with a (woman) who turns away is shame-faced and retiring'. Und der mit einer durch Subjektswechsel neuen Konstruktion (*yā snāti*) eingeleitete nächste Abschnitt wird danach so wiedergegeben, als handle es sich um einen der Konstruktion *yām ... sambhāvanti* untergeordneten Relativsatz, in welchem das Attribut *málavadvāsas* jedoch nicht mehr fortgilt:<sup>9</sup> '(the son born) of intercourse with a woman bathing is fated to drown; (the son born) of one who [6] anoints herself has a skin disease; ...'.

Die Auffassung Keiths, dem diese Aufzählung — allerdings der eigenen Auslegung gemäß — immerhin als 'a silly one' erschien,<sup>10</sup> ging demnach dahin, daß in diesem Textstück *der geschlechtliche Umgang mit Frauen, während sie sich baden, den Körper einölen, kämmen, die Augen schminken, die Zähne putzen, die Nägel schneiden, spinnen, Seile drehen, aus einem Blatt oder aus einem zerbrochenen Gefäß trinken, als praktikierbar gedacht* und — infolgedessen — auch untersagt worden wäre! So wurde schließlich später vor einem breiteren als bloß einem indologischen Fachpublikum auf der Grundlage von TS 2,5,1 ein durchaus ernstgemeintes Bild vom alten Indien entworfen, in welchem in folgender

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<sup>8</sup> Vgl. KEITH, S.188f.; MYLIUS 1981, S.116ff. Der Einfluß dieser Keithschen Übersetzung zeigt seine Wirkung auch bei GONDA 1976, S.28, SMITH 1991, S.23, FRIEDRICH, S.145f. sowie in einer posthum publizierten Arbeit Hertha Kricks (KRICK, S.511). Daß Krick aber klarer sah als alle anderen, zeigt ihre Anm.1388 (zu S.511), wo sie mit dem in Rede stehenden Abschnitt die 'Umstände bei der Zeugung *oder die Tätigkeiten der Frau während der Menses*' (Kursivschrift von mir) in Verbindung bringt!

<sup>9</sup> Wie KEITH, S.189 bereits in seiner Note (3) zum vorangegangenen *āranye* bemerkt hatte: 'Not, as the comm., of intercourse with a *malavadvāsas*, but generally!'

<sup>10</sup> KEITH, S.189, Anm.3.



Weise gedacht worden wäre.<sup>11</sup>

‘Wer aus dem Beischlaf mit einer schmutzig gekleideten (Frau) geboren wird, der ist verflucht. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) im Walde (geboren wird), ist ein Dieb. Wer aus einem Beischlaf in der Rückenlage (geboren wird), ist mit beschämtem Antlitz verzagt. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer Badenden (geboren wird), wird im Wasser sterben. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer, die sich salbt, (geboren wird), wird hautkrank. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer, die sich (immer) kämmt, (geboren wird), bekommt eine Glatze und siecht dahin. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer, die Augensalbe benutzt, (geboren wird), wird blind. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer, die (immer) die Zähne putzt, (geboren wird), wird braunzähmig. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer, die die Nägel schneidet, (geboren wird), bekommt schlechte Nägel. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer, die spinnt, (geboren wird), ist ein Eunuch. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer, die Seile dreht, (geboren wird), erhängt sich. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer, die aus einem Blatt trinkt, (geboren wird), ist betrunken. Wer (aus dem Beischlaf) mit einer, die aus einem schadhafte(n) Gefäß trinkt, (geboren wird), ist verstümmelt.’

Im Anschluß an eine solche Auslegung kann dann der Schluß des Abschnitts als eine vom Gatten auf sich zu nehmende Sühne-/Wiedergutmachungszeremonie (*prāyaścitta-*) gedeutet werden.<sup>12</sup>

‘For three nights he should keep a vow and should drink from his hand or from a perfect vessel, to guard his offspring’ (KEITH, loc.cit.).

‘Drei Nächte lang soll er<sup>13</sup> das Gelübde befolgen und aus den zusammengelegten Händen trinken oder aus einem unbeschädigten Gefäß, um die Nachkommenschaft zu schützen’ (MYLIUS 1981, loc.cit.).

### 3.2. Die einheimische Tradition

Bedarf es denn tatsächlich solch absurder, ja abstruser Vorstellung-

<sup>11</sup> MYLIUS 1981, S.117f.

<sup>12</sup> So bereits 1888 DELBRÜCK, S.180.

<sup>13</sup> MYLIUS 1981, S.118, Anm.159 erklärt diesen als den ‘Opferveranstalter’!



gen, um zu einer dem indischen Denken gerecht werdenden, sinnvollen Deutung dieses Textstückes zu gelangen? Ein Blick auf andere ritualistische Quellen aus spätvedischer Zeit, die auf genau diese Stelle der TS rekurrieren, dürfte bei dem Versuch, einen wirklichkeitsnäheren Begriff von dem, was dort eigentlich gemeint ist, zu entwickeln, hilfreich sein. Denn bei diesen Quellen handelt es sich ja nicht um späte Kommentare, die die Texte oft aus der Perspektive veränderter gesellschaftlicher Verhältnisse oder bereits weiterentwickelter Ansichten auslegen, sondern um epochal äußerst nahestehende Zeugen, bei denen eine tatsächliche Beobachtung der Bräuche durchaus noch vorausgesetzt werden kann. Die Rede ist von den Gr̥hyasūtren der Taittirīyaśākhā. Diese nämlich verpflichten eine Ehefrau während der Zeit ihrer Blutung, die am blutbefleckten Kleid,<sup>14</sup> das sie dann tragen muß (*malavadvāsas*-), erkennbar ist, zu den folgenden Observanzen:

BGS 1,7,22-36:

*atha yadaiṣā malavadvāsāḥ syāt nainayā saha samvadeta, na sahāsita, nāsyā annam adyād. brahmahatyāyai hy <o>[e]ṣā varṇam pratimucyāste; 'tho khālv āhur abhyañjanam vāva striyā annam, abhyañjanam eva na pratigr̥hyam, kāmam anyad iti* ||22|| *nainām upeyāt* ||23|| *nāranye* ||24|| *na parācīm* ||25|| *na snāti* ||26|| *nābhyañkte* ||27|| *na pralikhate* ||28|| *nāñkte* ||29|| *na dato dhāvate* ||30|| *na nakhāni nikṛntate* ||31|| *na kṛṇatti* ||32|| *na rajjum sṛjati* ||33|| *na paṇena pibati* ||34|| *na kharveṇa pibati* ||35|| *tasyai kharvas. tisro rātrīr vratam cared, añjalīnā vā pibed akharveṇa vā pātṛeṇa prajāyai gopīthāyeti brāhmaṇam* ||36||

<sup>14</sup> Gemäß SYED wurde in epischer und nachepischer Zeit ein um den Unterleib gewickeltes, vom Nabel bis zu den Knöcheln reichendes Gewand getragen (*nīvi*-). Allein wurde es nur im häuslichen Bereich sowie von menstruierenden Frauen — anders als die öffentlich getragene zweiteilige Kleidung der Oberschicht (S.121ff.) — angelegt (S.114ff.). Das Menstrualblut floß dabei in den Stoff (S.116;130ff.), der dann blutgetränkt war. Weiteres bei SLAJE, Anm.20. Vgl. auch noch Mān 4.41 (*rajasābhiplutā nārī*) sowie den von C. Bhattacharya beigebrachten Beleg in GGS(Calc.) (S.354, Z.3f.): [*gargah*] ... *vastre syur ... raktabindavaḥ ... iti phalam syāt prathamārtave*. Aufschlußreich ist auch die Bemerkung Bhaṭṭabhāskaras *ad* TS 2,5,1,5 (S.348, Z.26ff.), wonach 'die Verwendung [des Wortes] *vāsas*- [aus *malavadvāsas*-] der Andeutung dient, daß die Unreinheit von dem Kontakt des Blutes mit dem Kleid an besteht, selbst wenn es [*gar*] nicht bemerkt wurde' und daß 'die Unreinheit bereits vom Wissen [um die Blutung] an [besteht], auch wenn das Kleid vom [Blut noch] nicht berührt wurde'.

‘Wenn die [Gattin] nun [zum Zeichen ihres Blutflusses] ein blutbeflecktes Kleid tragen sollte, [dann] darf [der Gatte] nicht mit ihr sich unterhalten, nicht zusammen [mit ihr] sitzen, nicht Speise von ihr essen. Denn sie hat die Farbe/Umhüllung des Brahmanenmordes angelegt. Manche sagen [demgegenüber] aber auch: "Die Speise einer Frau ist in der Tat [ihr Körper-]Öl.<sup>15</sup> Nur [ihr] Öl darf man nicht entgegennehmen, anderes [darf man] nach Belieben [entgegennehmen]". (22) Nicht darf [der Gatte] sich der [blutenden Gattin geschlechtlich] nähern. (23) [Der Blutenden auch] nicht [heimlich] in der Wildnis. (24) [Einer Blutenden auch] nicht, [die] sich [von ihm ängstlich] abwendet. (25) [Eine blutende Frau] badet nicht. (26) Sie ölt sich nicht ein. (27) Sie kämmt sich nicht. (28) Sie schminkt [ihre Augen] nicht. (29) Sie reinigt [ihre] Zähne nicht. (30) Sie schneidet sich nicht die Nägel. (31) Sie spinnt nicht. (32) Sie dreht kein Seil/keine Haarflechten (?). (33) Sie trinkt nicht mittels eines Blattes. (34) Sie trinkt nicht mittels eines schadhaften [Gefäßes]. (35) "Ihr [Sohn wird sonst ebenfalls] mit Schaden [sein]. Drei Nächte soll sie [diese] Observanz befolgen. Mit der hohlen Hand oder einem unbeschädigten Gefäß darf sie [in dieser Zeit] trinken, zum Schutze der Nachkommenschaft," so [lehrt] das Brāhmaṇa.’

Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß das hier aus TS 2,5,1 weitestgehend wörtlich Zitierte dem Topos "Menstruationsvorschriften" — allerdings in einem besonderen, noch zu erläuterndem Sinne — subsumiert ist. Vor allem aber tritt die Tatsache eines tatsächlichen Subjekts- und Konstruktionswechsels mit aller Deutlichkeit zutage: In 23-25 steht die Gattin als Objekt im Akkusativ; das Subjekt, dem die Verbote gelten, kann daher nur der Gatte sein. In 26-35 ist, wie aus den Tätigkeiten hervorgeht, die Frau das Subjekt der Sätze. Die Verbote beziehen sich nun auf sie. Ab 36 liegt wieder eine segmentierte Übernahme des Wortlauts von TS vor, wo die üblen Folgen für die Nachkommenschaft infolge Überschreitens des Verbots geschildert

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. zu diesem unten, S.137.



sind.<sup>16</sup> Und es ergibt sich auch — als bedürfte es überhaupt eines weiteren Beweises — aus der unmittelbar folgenden Stelle (37) des Sūtra, welches die bekannte Tatsache des pflichtgemäßen Zeugungswerkes in der darauffolgenden vierten Nacht, wenn die Frau sich erstmals wieder gebadet hat, vorschreibt (*caturthyām snātām niśāyām alaṅkṛtya ...*):

BhGS 1,20:

*yadā malavadvāsāḥ syād, athainām brāhmaṇapraṭiṣiddhāni vratāni saṁśāsti yām malavadvāsasam iti.*

‘Wenn [die Gattin zum Zeichen ihres Blutflusses] ein blutbeflecktes Kleid tragen sollte, dann unterrichtet [der Gatte] sie umfassend über [jene] Observanzen, die im Brāhmaṇa als Verbote, [beginnend mit] "mit [der Gattin, die zum Zeichen ihrer Blutung] ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt" [gelehrt sind].’

Hier wird, ebenso wie im folgenden (‘im Brāhmaṇa untersagte

<sup>16</sup> Eine dreitägige Observanz (*vrata*-) findet sich — wie Śaṅkara (BĀUBh *ad* BĀU 6,4,6 <S.801, Z.3> und *ad* BĀU 6,4,13 <S.605, Z.6ff.>) es wohl richtig sieht — auch in BĀU 6,4,13 (zur Kategorisierung dieses Textstückes vgl. WEZLER 1993, S.287), wo für den Fall des Auftretens des *ārtava*- der Gattin ein Gebot genannt wird, demzufolge drei Tage lang aus einem Metallbecher (*kaṁsena*) getrunken werden soll: *atha yasya jāyām ārtavaṁ vindet, tryaḥaṁ kaṁsena pibet*. Hierzu sei angemerkt, daß ich im Lichte der sachlich verwandten und im magisch-äquivalenten Denken der Brāhmaṇa-Zeit auch für Sāyaṇa (S.350, Z.20ff.) durchaus Sinn machenden Stellen TS 2,5,1,6-7 sowie BGS 1,7,36, wo vorgeschrieben wird, aus einem unbeschädigten Gefäß (*akharveṇa pātrena*) zu trinken, hier in BĀU *kaṁsena* (Instr.) statt *kaṁse na* lese! Da es von TS und BGS untersagt wird, aus einem schadhafte Gefäß zu trinken (*na kharveṇa ...*), liegt dort natürlich der Gedanke an ein (beschädigtes) Tongefäß nahe. Das in BĀU genannte Metallgefäß (*kaṁsa*-, vgl. EWA I, S.285f.), das schon aufgrund seiner materiellen Beschaffenheit Unversehrtheit voraussetzt, findet sich auch in späteren Texten wieder. Vgl. die weiter unten zitierte Stelle aus VKhGS 3.9 (*akharveṇāñjalīnāyasena vā pibet*) sowie die von C. Bhattacharya beigebrachten Belege in GGS(Calc.) (S.354, Z.31-S.355, Z.2): *atir api ... dagdhe śarāve bhuñjīta, peyaṁ cāñjalīnā pibet | madanaratne hārītaḥ: rajahprāptā ced, adhaḥ śayīta bhūmau, kārṣṇāyase pāṇau mṛṇmaye vāśnīyād iti*.

Der vorliegenden Satzkonstruktion der BĀU-Stelle nach zu urteilen (Subjekt des Hauptsatzes könnte ein grammatisches Korrelat zum Relativpronomen *yasya*, mithin der Gatte, d.h. [*sa*] sein), wurde vom Redaktor dieses korrupt wirkenden Stückes die Observanz möglicherweise dem Gatten zugeschrieben. Es könnte hier ebenso gut eine gewollt neue Sinnzuweisung vorliegen, wie auch eine unreflektierte Anpassung an die Tatsache möglich wäre, daß Agens/Subjekt von Opferhandlungen sonst stets der Mann ist. Vgl. auch die folgende Anmerkung 17.



Handlungen'), auf Verbote Bezug genommen, die sich auf die Zeit der Blutungsperiode richten.

ĀpGS 3,8,12:

*yadā malavadvāsāḥ syād athainām brāhmaṇapraṭiṣiddhāni karmāṇi samśāsti yām malavadvāsasam ity etāni.*

HGS 1,24,7:

*trirātram malavadvā <sa> sā brāhmaṇavyākhyātāni vratāni carati.*

‘Drei Nächte lang befolgt [die Gattin, die zum Zeichen ihrer Blutung] ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt, die im Brāhmaṇa dargelegten Observanzen.’<sup>17</sup>

VKhGS 3,9:

*atha trirātram ṛtau malavadvāsāḥ snānāñjanādīni varjayed, ekabhaktā syād, akharveṇāñjalināyasena vā piben, na śulbenāśnāti, na grahān ikṣeta, na divā svaped, yathoktam vratam kuryāc ...*

‘Trägt [die Gattin] nun drei Nächte lang innerhalb [ihres] *ṛtu*-[zum Zeichen ihrer Blutung] ein blutbeflecktes Kleid, [so] soll sie das Baden, Einölen usw. meiden; beim Essen soll sie allein sein; trinken soll sie aus einem nicht schadhafte[n] [Gefäß], aus der hohlen Hand, oder aus einem ehernen [Gefäß]; nicht von Kupferne[m] (?) soll sie essen; nicht die Planeten betrachten; nicht bei Tage schlafen; wie es gelehrt ist, soll sie die Observanz befolgen.’

Dazu läßt sich auch noch das Zeugnis des *Vāsiṣṭhadharmaśāstra*<sup>18</sup> hinzuziehen, welches sogar den Mythos aus TS in diesem Zusammenhang überliefert:

<sup>17</sup> So bei naheliegender Emendierung des Instrumentals zum Nominativ, wie auch OLDENBERG, S.199, seiner Übersetzung zufolge, in seinen Handschriften gelesen haben muß. Behielte man den Instrumental bei, dann wäre auch eine Übersetzung ‘Drei Nächte lang befolgt [der Gatte] mit [der Gattin, die ...]’ möglich. Die Observanz gilt ja — wenngleich indirekt, nämlich insofern Enthaltensamkeit nur bezüglich einer blutenden, in diesem Fall der eigenen, Frau vorgeschrieben ist — auch ihm! Allerdings erörtert Devala das Verhalten für einen Mann mit mehreren Gattinnen, die gleichzeitig ihren *ṛtu*- haben. Vgl. das Zitat bei Gadādhara *ad* PGS 1,11,7 (S.123, Z.12ff.).

<sup>18</sup> Auch ĀpDhS (2,1,1,16-19) und YājñS (1,81) beziehen sich auf Mythos und Vorschriften aus TS. Zu weiteren Parallelen vgl. neben den weiter unten im Exkurs über Fruchtbarkeit und "Menstruation" zitierten Stellen auch MEYER, S.225f. und SCHMIDT 1922, S.274ff.

VDhŚ 5.6-9:

*trirātram rajasvalāśucir bhavati* ||6|| *sā nāñjyān, nābhyañjyān, nāpsu snāyād, adhaḥ śayīta, na divā svapyān, nāgniṃ spr̥ṣen, na rajjuṃ sr̥jen, na dantān dhāvayen, na mām̐sam aśnīyān, na grahān nirīkṣeta, na hasen, na kiṃ ci<ta>d ācaren, na dhāve<ta>d, akharveṇa pātrena pibed añjalīnā vā pibet, lohītāyasena vā* ||7|| *vijñāyate hi: indras triśīrṣāṇaṃ tvāṣṭraṃ hatvā pāpmagr̥hīto mahattamādharmasambaddho 'ham ity evam ātmānam amanyata. taṃ sarvāṇi bhūtāny abhyakrośan bhrūṇahan bhrūṇahann iti. sa striya upādhāvad, asyai me bhrūṇahatyāyai tṛtīyaṃ bhāgaṃ pratigr̥hṇītetī. tā abr<a>[u]van kiṃ no bhūyād iti. so 'bravīd varam vṛṇīdhvam iti. tā abruvann ṛtau prajāṃ vindāmaha iti. kāmam ā vijanītoḥ sambhavāmetī. tatheti tāḥ pratijagr̥huḥ saiṣā bhrūṇahatyā māsi māsy āvirbhavati. tasmād rajasvalāyā annaṃ nāśnīyād bhrūṇahatyāyā evaiṣā rūpaṃ pratimucyāste* ||8|| *tad āhuḥ: añjanābhyañjanam evāsyā na pratigrāhyaṃ, tad dhi striyā annam iti. tasmāt tasyai ca tatra ca bībhatsante meyam upāgād iti* ||9||

‘Drei Nächte lang ist die blutende [Gattin] unrein. (6) Sie darf [ihre Augen] nicht schminken, sich nicht einölen, nicht im Wasser baden; sie soll [des nachts] am Boden liegen, [doch] nicht bei Tage schlafen; sie darf keinen Kontakt mit dem [häuslichen] Feuer haben, kein Seil/keine Haarflechten (?) drehen, [ihre] Zähne nicht reinigen, kein Fleisch essen, nicht die Planeten betrachten, nicht lachen, keinerlei [Tätigkeiten der Reinigung an sich selbst(?)] ausführen, nicht [schnell(?)] laufen; sie soll aus einem unbeschädigten Gefäß trinken oder aus der hohlen Hand trinken oder aus einem Kupfer[-Gefäß] trinken. (7) Denn man weiß: Als Indra den dreiköpfigen Tvaṣṭṛ-Sohn erschlagen hatte, hielt er sich ergriffen vom Übel und mit allergrößter Schuld beladen. Alle Wesen schrien ihn an: "Brahmanenmörder, Brahmanenmörder!" Er lief zu den Frauen: "Nehmt den dritten Teil dieses meines Brahmanenmordes entgegen!" Darauf sagten sie: "Was erwüchse uns [daraus]?" Er sagte: "Wählt ein Geschenk nach Wunsch!" Darauf sagten sie: "Innerhalb des *ṛtu*- wollen wir Nachkommenschaft empfangen! Bis zur Geburt wollen wir uns [dann] nach Lust [mit den Männern] vereinigen!" "So [sei es]," [stimmte Indra dem zu]. Darauf nahmen sie [den dritten Teil des Mordes] entgegen. Der-



selbe Brahmanenmord kommt Monat für Monat zur Erscheinung. Deshalb darf man von einer blutenden [Frau] keine Speise essen. Sie hat die Form tatsächlich des Brahmanenmordes angelegt. (8) Man sagt: "Augenschminke und Öl darf man von ihr nicht entgegennehmen, denn dies ist die Speise einer Frau." Darum ekelt man sich sowohl vor ihr als auch bei ihr: "Daß die nicht [an mich] herankomme!" (9)

Auch das *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* (3,7,1,9) überliefert eine Vorschrift, die sich auf die fruchtbare, von einer Blutung eingeleitete Periode einer Frau bezieht: Der Opferer soll seine Gattin solange, wie sie deshalb nicht berührt werden darf (*anā lambhukā-*), vom Opfer ausschließen (*yásya vrátyé 'han pátny anā lambhukā bhāvati | tām aparūdhye yajeta*). Nach Beendigung seiner Opfer aber soll er sie auffordern (*tām iṣṭvopahvayeta*), mit ihm durch Beischlaf einen Sohn zu erzeugen. Der Wortlaut gleicht weitestgehend AV 14,2,71 (*ámo 'hám asmi* etc.) und bringt unmißverständlich den Wunsch nach Nachkommenschaft zum Ausdruck (... *tāv éhi sámbhavāva | sahá réto dadhāvahai | puṃsé putráya véttavai | ...*).<sup>19</sup> Beide Stellen, nämlich sowohl TS als auch TB, werden zudem auch von Śabara (*ad MīSū* 3,4,18-19) dahingehend diskutiert, ob Frauen während ihrer Blutung zum Darśapūrṇamāsa-Opfer zuzulassen seien (3,4,18), bzw. ob man mit ihnen geschlechtlich verkehren dürfe (3,4,19).<sup>20</sup>

Ein direkter, durch den Mythos von Indras Brahmanenmord erklärend-begründeter Zusammenhang zwischen weiblicher Fruchtbarkeit und Blutung steht also ganz außer Frage. Die Verbote aus TS 2,5,1 beziehen sich ebenfalls unmißverständlich auf die Zeit der Blutung. Was aber mag derlei Verboten in solchem Zusammenhang zugrunde liegen? Eine Antwort darauf verbirgt sich im Sinn des fraglichen Begriffes *ṛtu-*.

#### 4. "Fertilität" und "Menstruation"

Aus seiner Verwendung in den Texten wird ersichtlich, daß *ṛtu-* etwas bedeuten muß, was semantisch mit Begriffen wie *rajas(valā)-* oder

<sup>19</sup> Hier wird man jedenfalls dem Kommentar Bhaṭṭabhāskaras folgen, der einen Zusammenhang mit der auf die drei Nächte nach Einsetzen der Blutung folgenden Begattung, die in späteren Texten als Vorschrift gilt, herstellt (*anā lambhukā [=] asparśāhā malavadvāsāḥ | ... yadā trirātrīṇā syāt, athaināṃ maithunakāle upahvayeta ...*).

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. auch HDH 2,2, S.803.



*malavadvāsa-*, die die bloße Tatsache des monatlichen Blutflusses entweder direkt (*rajasvalā-*) bzw. umschreibend (*malavadvāsa-*) ausdrücken, nicht, oder allenfalls nur sehr eingeschränkt, zur Deckung zu bringen ist. Die Abgrenzung dieser Begriffe voneinander ist aber vor dem Hintergrund der vorgeführten — und anderer, noch vorzuführender — Stellen nun durchaus möglich geworden. Denn *ṛtu-* erweist sich stets als der weitere Begriff, der, die engeren Begriffe der eigentlichen Menstruation umfassend, diese in sich einschließt. Wie erinnerlich hieß es oben (VKhGS 3,9) ja *atha trirātram ṛtau malavadvāsāḥ* ('Trägt [die Gattin] nun drei Nächte lang innerhalb [ihres] *ṛtu-* [zum Zeichen ihrer Blutung] ein blutbeflecktes Kleid ...'). Und im *Vāsiṣṭhadharmaśāstra* (VDhŚ 5,8) war — in Anlehnung an TS 2,5,1 (*ṛtviyāt prajāṃ vindāmahai*) — ebenfalls von *ṛtau prajāṃ vindāmahai* ('Innerhalb des *ṛtu-* wollen wir Nachkommenschaft empfangen!') die Rede. Dem lassen sich — bei Bedarf noch vielfach vermehrbare<sup>21</sup> — Stellen aus z.T. auch anderen Literaturschichten hinzufügen: *rajasah prādurbhāvāt snātām ṛtusamāveśana uttarābhir abhimantrayate* ('Hat [die Gattin] nach dem zum Vorschein Kommen des Blutes gebadet, bespricht er sie bei der Vereinigung während/anlässlich [ihres] *ṛtu-* mit den folgenden [Ṛg-Versen]', ĀpGS 3,8,13); *ṛtau prathamadivasāt prabhṛti brahmacāriṇī ... tataḥ śuddhasnātām caturthe 'hany ...* ('Vom ersten Tag innerhalb des *ṛtu-* an ist sie [drei Nächte lang] keusch ...'.<sup>22</sup> Am darauf folgenden vierten Tag [soll er] sie, die ein Reinigungsbad genommen hat ...', SuS, Śār.2,26-27); *ṛtus tu dṛṣṭārtavo dvādaśarātram bhavati ... tataḥ puṣpadarśane prathamadivasāt prabhṛti brahmacāriṇī ... trirātram āsīta ... caturthe 'hany ... bhartāram paśyed ...* ('Der *ṛtu-* aber, von dem das dazugehörige [Blut] (*ārtava-*) gesehen wurde, dauert zwölf Nächte ... . (41) Vom ersten Tag der Beobachtung der Blüte, [die der Blutfluß ist (vgl. Anm.36),] an, soll sie drei Nächte keusch ... bleiben . (45) Am vierten Tag soll sie den Gatten sehen ... . (46)', AS, Śār.1,41-46).

*ṛtu-* bezeichnet also eine — worauf auch die Etymologie hinweist — regelmäßig wiederkehrende Periode, in der die Frau — aus indischer Sicht — "fruchtbar" ist. Das Einsetzen des Blutflusses aber wurde als *Merkmal für den Beginn einer solchen empfängnisgeeigneten Periode* ange-

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. die umfangreiche Zusammenstellung diesbezüglicher Zitate aus der Dharmaśāstra-Literatur ad GGS(Calc.) 2,5,7-8 (S.351-359) sowie ad 3,5,3 (S.633ff.).

<sup>22</sup> Es folgen ähnliche Verbote wie TS 2,5,1.

sehen. Die Tatsache des Blutflusses (*ārtava-*, *rajas-*, *rajasvalā-*) hatte die Frau während der ersten drei Tage<sup>23</sup> innerhalb ihrer fruchtbaren Periode durch das Tragen eines blutbefleckten Kleides (*malavadvāsas-*) zu signalisieren. Sie "menstruiert" dann zwar im engeren, abendländischen Sinn, doch nach altindischer Anschauung hat ihre "fruchtbare Zeit" begonnen. Das ist bereits ein gewichtiger Unterschied in den Auffassungen. Die wahre Dimension des Mißverstehens wird aber erst dann wirklich durchschaubar, wenn man die Hintergründe, die zu dieser Vorstellung geführt haben könnten, genauer zu begreifen versucht.

## 5. Flußdauer und Natur des "(Menstrual-)Blutes"

5.1. Zunächst: Muß denn die tatsächliche Dauer der Blutung notwendig mit der rituell auf drei Tage festgelegten<sup>24</sup> übereingestimmt haben?<sup>25</sup> Und sind wir überhaupt berechtigt, nur aufgrund der Tatsache, daß die Vorschriften von einer dreitägigen Seklusion der Frau sprechen, sie als Mitteilung über ein biologisches Faktum zu interpretieren? Dies zu glauben fällt schwer, weil eine ganze Anzahl von Texten deutliche Hinweise darauf enthält, daß die Blutung in der für den Zeugungsakt vorgeschriebenen vierten Nacht noch nicht zu Ende gekommen war, ein Verkehr demnach noch während der Blutung stattgefunden haben muß-

<sup>23</sup> Am vierten Tag werden nämlich die für die drei ersten Tage geltenden Verbote durch entgegengesetzte Vorschriften wieder aufgehoben, indem ein Bad, das Reinigen des Körpers und der Zähne, das Anlegen von Schmuck und eines frischen Kleides vorgeschrieben werden. Vgl. dazu SLAJE, Anm.57. In diesem Kleid soll die Frau sich dann zu ihrem Gatten begeben. Für den Gatten ist dies das unmittelbare Signal für den pflichtgemäßen Verkehr in der Nacht desselben vierten Tages. Die Unterlassung des Beischlafs in der von der Frau durch Anlegen des frischen Kleides als solche kenntlich gemachten vierten Nacht wird in den späteren Texten der Rechtsliteratur als schweres Vergehen des Mannes im Sinne eines Embryonen-/Brahmanen(*bhrūṇa-*)-Mordes(*hatyā-*) (vgl. SLAJE, Anm.63) bewertet, wie umgekehrt das AŚ die siebenmalige Unterdrückung dieses Signals durch die Gattin als Grund für eine Scheidungsmöglichkeit anführt (vgl. WEZLER 1991, S.801f.).

<sup>24</sup> Zu den oben angeführten Beispielen einer dreitägigen "Unreinheit" vgl. auch noch J.J. Meyers sexualekundliche Untersuchungen des Epos (MEYER, S.217f.;229) sowie BS 78,26d (*prathamaniśātritayam na tatra gamyam*).

<sup>25</sup> Jan Gonda (GONDA 1976, S.28) etwa sprach sich dagegen aus: "But, although the average duration of the menstrual flow is four days, a woman was unclean for three days (BĀU 6,4,13)". Vgl. auch SCHMIDT 1904, S.210. Zum Symbolismus der Dreizahl vgl. GONDA 1980, S.32f.



te. In vedischer Zeit trug der Mann daher nicht nur bei der Defloration, sondern auch bei der Zeugung anlässlich des *ṛtu*- ein besonderes, blutigen Anlässen vorbehaltenes Kleid (*strīvāsas*-, ĀpDhS 2,1,1,20).<sup>26</sup> Deshalb wurde auch ein Unterschied gemacht, ob eine Frau für ihren Mann oder für die Opfer rein war (TS, TB).<sup>27</sup> Und ganz in diesem Sinne lehrt Gadādhara *ad* PGS 1,11,7 (S.123, Z.24f.), daß 'eine blutende [Frau] drei Nächte lang (rituell) unrein sei. Am vierten Tag gebadet wird sie (rituell) rein [und] für den Gatten berührbar. Für das Opferwerk an Götter und Manen [kommt ihr] Reinheit [erst zu], wenn das Blut aufgehört hat.'<sup>28</sup>

Womit könnte nun aber die Angabe einer bloß dreitägigen Blutungsdauer dieser älteren Überlieferungen zusammenhängen? Die Texte bestätigen nun einen bereits aufkeimenden Verdacht, nämlich den, daß es sich dabei um den Versuch einer optimalen Nutzung der weiblichen Fertilität — und zwar unter einem ganz besonderen Gesichtspunkt — gehandelt haben könnte. Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang doch sehr auffällig, wenn Manu und Yājñavalkya — in starkem Kontrast zu den ritualistischen und medizinischen Textgattungen — vier enthaltsame Nächte lehren.<sup>29</sup> Dies wird auf dem besonderen Charakter ihrer Werke, die als sog. Dharmaśāstras Normen mehr rechtlich-religiöser Natur<sup>30</sup> festsetzen, beruhen. Denn wenn die rituell auf nur drei Nächte festgelegte mit einer biologisch eventuell längeren Dauer nicht übereingestimmt haben sollte, so mußte sich doch ein Konflikt aufgrund

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. dazu SLAJE, Anm.21. Anders aber FRIEDRICH, S.146f.: 'Kleidung der Frau'!

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. oben, S.121.

<sup>28</sup> *rajasvalā trirātram asuciḥ syāt. caturthe 'hani snātā śuddhā bhavati bhartuḥ sprśyā. daive pitrye ca kārye rajonivṛttau śuciḥ.* Vgl. auch Anm.45.

<sup>29</sup> Yājñ 1,79: *ṣoḍaśartuniśāḥ strīṇām ... | ... parvāṇy ādyāś catasras tu varjayet* ('Sechzehn sind die *ṛtu*-Nächte der Frauen ... . Die Mondwechsel [und] die ersten vier [Nächte] aber soll man meiden'). Mān 3,46f.: *ṛtuḥ svābhāvikāḥ strīṇām rātrayaḥ ṣoḍaśa smṛtāḥ | ... || tāsām ādyāś catasras tu ninditaikādaśi ca yā | ...* ('Sechzehn Nächte werden traditionell als der natürliche *ṛtu*- der Frauen überliefert ... . [Es werden] die ersten vier [Nächte] von diesen aber, und es wird die, die elfte ist ..., [hinsichtlich einer Beiwohnung] getadelt'). Auf diesen Widerspruch zwischen der Lehre der Gṛhyasūtren und der der Dharmaśāstras weist auch Haradatta *ad* ĀpDhS 2,1,1,17 hin.

<sup>30</sup> Zum Begriff des *dharma*-, zur literarischen Kategorie der ihn lehrenden Śāstras sowie zu den mit ihnen verbundenen textkritischen Problemen vgl. die wichtigen Bemerkungen von WEZLER 1995, S.97f.;100f.



zweier einander widersprechender Vorschriften ergeben haben: Die (rituelle) erste, daß der Verkehr bereits in der vierten Nacht Pflicht, gegenüber einer anderen, die den Verkehr mit einer Blutenden als ein schweres Vergehen bestimmt,<sup>31</sup> da nach dieser zweiten Anschauung mit dem Blutfluß alle schädlichen Kräfte von der Frau konzentriert abfließen, woraus ihr allerdings eine besondere Reinigung zuteil werden soll.<sup>32</sup> Die Dharmaśāstras dürften, um diesem Konflikt auszuweichen, die Enthaltsamkeit um einen Tag auf vier Tage verlängert und damit den biologisch tatsächlichen Gegebenheiten eher Rechnung getragen haben. Daraus könnte sich vielleicht auch die — für die Dharmaśāstras jedenfalls typische — Angabe einer Fertilitätsdauer (*ṛtu-*) von 16 Tagen erklären lassen, die sich von der der medizinischen Śāstras, die 12 Tage angeben, dadurch um genau vier Tage verlängert. In solchen Fällen bleibt immerhin die Verhältniszahl des Vierfachen der jeweils angegebenen Blutungsdauer erhalten.<sup>33</sup> Und es fällt demnach schwer, mit JOLLY, S.50, der sich offenbar von Ḍaḥaṇa *ad* SuS, Śār.3,6 beeinflussen ließ, zu glauben, die Dharmaśāstras hätten mit dem 16-tägigen *ṛtu-* das Ursprünglichere bewahrt. Zumindest die Dreizahl der für eine tatsächliche Enthaltsamkeit vorgeschriebenen Blutungsnächte ist nachweislich älter, wie die oben angeführten Belege der *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* sowie die

<sup>31</sup> GAMPERT, S.142; MEYER, S.225. Vgl. Mān 4.40-41: *nopagacchet pramatto 'pi striyam ārtavadarśane | samānaśayane caiva na śayīta tayā saha | rajasābhiplutām nārīm narasya hy upagacchataḥ | prajñā tejo balaṃ cakṣur āyus caiva prahīyate* ('Wenn [ihr] *ārtava-* sich zeigt, darf er sich nicht [seiner] Frau nähern, auch wenn er verrückt [vor Verlangen] ist. Und gewiß darf er nicht am gemeinsamen Lager mit ihr liegen. (40) Und [ebenso] gewiß verliert ein Mann, der sich [seiner] mit Blut überströmten Frau nähert, [seinen] Verstand, die [Mannes-]Kraft, Stärke, Sehkraft und Lebensspanne. (41)'). Zur Möglichkeit des Verlustes bzw. der "Abgabe" abstrakter Eigenschaften, die im alten Indien substantialistisch gedacht wurden, vgl. HARA. Die Anschauung, daß besonders während des Geschlechtsverkehrs solche Eigenschaften übertragen oder auch "geraubt" werden könnten, geht aus BĀU 6,4,3;6-8;10-11 deutlich hervor. Vgl. dazu HARA, S.129, Anm.34. Siehe auch SCHMIDT 1922, S.287 (mit weiteren Stellenangaben).

<sup>32</sup> GAMPERT, S.211; MEYER, S.219f. Vgl. PW I, Sp.1057, s.v. 2. *ṛtviya* '2) n. monatliche Reinigung'. Vgl. auch ZEDLER, S.818: 'Monatliche Reinigung bey dem Weibs = Volck'.

<sup>33</sup> Varāhamihira allerdings lehrt — wie ĀpGS (3,9,1) und BGS (1,7,45) — einen *ṛtu-* von 16 Tagen mit einer Blutungs- bzw. Enthaltsamkeitsdauer von 3 Nächten (BS 78,20b; 26cd). Im VKhGS (3,9) wird von zwölf Nächten der eigenen Tradition ausgegangen. Die sechzehn Nächte werden als andere Lehrmeinung erwähnt. Vgl. das Zitat unten im Textteil.

der auf sie bezugnehmenden Gṛhyasūtren und der *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* einschließlich Śaṅkaras *Bhāṣya* zeigen.

Der Beginn eines *ṛtu*- wurde — ebenso wie die Dauer der Enthaltsamkeit — mit dem Einsetzen des Blutflusses bestimmt:

VKhGS 3,9:

... *atha trirātram ṛtau malavadvāsāḥ ... | ṛturātrayo dvādaśa bhavanti, ṣoḍaśeti cācakṣate. prathamās tisro na gamyāḥ.*

‘Trägt [die Gattin] nun drei Nächte lang während [ihrer] fruchtbaren Periode (*ṛtu*-) [zum Zeichen ihrer Blutung] ein blutbeflecktes Kleid, ... . Die Nächte der fruchtbaren Periode sind zwölf, man lehrt auch: sechzehn.<sup>34</sup> Die ersten drei [dieser Nächte] sind nicht [für den Beischlaf] zugelassen.’<sup>35</sup>

ĀpGS 3,8,13:

*rajasah prādurbhāvāt snātām ṛtusamāveśana uttarābhir abhi-mantrayate.*

‘Hat sie nach dem zum Vorschein Kommen des Blutes gebadet, bespricht er sie bei der Vereinigung während/anlässlich [ihrer] fruchtbaren Periode mit den folgenden [Rg-Versen].’

Nicht weniger explizit als die eben zitierten Stellen der spätvedischen Überlieferung sind auch die Texte der indischen Mediziner, die im Zusammenhang mit dieser Thematik ein auffälliges Naheverhältnis zu den *ṛtusaṅgama*-/*garbhādhāna*-Riten der Gṛhyasūtren zeigen:

CarS, Śār.8,4-6:

*tataḥ puṣpāt prabhṛti trirātram āsīta brahmacārīṇy adhaḥśāyini pāṇibhyām annam ajarjarapātre bhuñjānā na ca kāmcin mṛjām āpadyeta* ||4|| *tataś caturthe ’hany enām utsādyā, saśiraskam snāpayitvā śuklāni vāsāṃsy ācchādayet puruṣam ca ...* ||5|| *snānāt prabhṛti ... samvasetām ...* ||6||

‘Vom [Beginn der] Blüte<sup>36</sup> (die der Blutfluß ist) an, soll sie

<sup>34</sup> Die von den Dharmaśāstras angegebene Dauer.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. dazu auch WINTERNITZ, S.94f.; GOPAL, S.248f.; HDH 2,1, S.204f.

<sup>36</sup> Die Metapher ist doch wahrscheinlich von botanischen Fakten (Blüte → Befruchtung → Frucht) abgeleitet und paßt auch vortrefflich zu *ṛtu*- (in der Bedeutung ‘Jahreszeit’). In diesem Sinne auch erklärt von Aruṇadatta (*ad* AH, Śār.1,22: *suddham ca raktam puṣpaśamjñam garbhākhyasya phalasya bhaviṣyato ’bhivyañjakatvāt*) und verwendet von Devala: *tasmāt trirātram cāṇḍālīm puṣpitām parivarjayet* (zitiert bei GGS(Calc.) S.355, Z.9). Sie dürfte aber eine durchaus breitere Anwendung erfahren haben, wie ein Beispiel aus dem Yogavāsiṣṭha zeigt: *yauvanena mahārāja na yāvad*



drei Nächte keusch bleiben, am Boden schlafen, und — mit den Händen Speise aus einem unbeschädigten Gefäß zu sich nehmend — auch keinerlei Reinigungen [an sich] vornehmen. (4) Am darauffolgenden vierten Tag lasse [der Priester<sup>37</sup>] sie [all dies] aussetzen, bis zum Haupte sich baden, sie und den Mann reine Kleider anlegen ... . (5) Vom Baden [am vierten Tag nach Einsetzen der Blutung] an ... sollen die beiden sich vereinigen ... . (6)'

SuS, Śār.2,26-27:

*ṛtau prathamadivasāt prabhṛti brahmacāriṇī ... . tataḥ śuddha-snātām caturthe 'hany ...*

‘Vom ersten Tag innerhalb der fruchtbaren Periode an ist sie keusch ... .<sup>38</sup> Am darauf folgenden vierten Tag [soll er] sie, die ein Reinigungsbad genommen hat ... .’

AS, Śār.1,5;41-46:

*... ṛtāv ādye ca rātritraye tathā duṣṭe śukrārtava iti ||5|| ... ṛtus tu dṛṣṭārtavo dvādaśarātram bhavati ... ||41|| ... tataḥ puṣpa-darśane prathamadivasāt prabhṛti brahmacāriṇī ... trirātram āsīta ... ||45|| caturthe 'hany ... bhartāram paśyed ... ||46||*

‘Und während der ersten drei Nächte innerhalb der fruchtbaren Periode sind das Konglomerat (samāhāradvandva!) aus (männlichem) Samen und aus dem zur fruchtbaren Periode

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*vayam* [= Cūḍālā] *ujjhitāḥ* | *puspaugheneva taravas, tāvac chobhāmahe grhe* (YV 6,84,24). Der etymologischen Verwandtschaft von dt. *Blüte* und *Blut* (Grundbedeutung ‘blühen’), dazu auch lat. *flōs*, *flōris* (→ frz. *fleurs*), engl. *blooms*, gesellt sich also indisch *puspa* als bedeutungsverwandte (Elementar-?)Parallele. Auch im Zusammenhang mit dem Begriff *rajas-valā-* (‘menstruierend’) drängt sich ein (agrarischer) Bezug auf, wenn man bei *rajas-* an die durch Beackern (→ Befruchtung) aufgerissene, staubige (*rajas-*!) Erde denkt. Dies könnte auch ein Ansatzpunkt für die Exegese des Mythos aus TS 2,5,1 (oben, S.113) sein, da er sich in diesem Lichte eventuell agrarisch (Erde) — botanisch (Bäume) — humanbiologisch (Frauen) parallelisieren ließe.

<sup>37</sup> Die Kausative sowie die Tatsache, daß auch der Mann Objekt dieser Handlungen ist, machen die Annahme einer dritten, priesterlichen — man vgl. den *Ṛtvij* aus 8,15! — Person erforderlich. Die Mutmaßungen über Offizianten beim Ehevollzug von A. Weber (zu HAAS, S.404), WINTERNITZ, S.92 (ĀpGS 8,11) und DRESDEN, S.74f. (MGs 1,14,16) erfahren vor allem durch die Darstellung Sāyaṇas, der sich auf das *Kauśikasūtra* des *Atharvaveda* stützt (AVBh, Einleitung zu AV 14, S.1534), eine nachdrückliche Bestätigung.

<sup>38</sup> Es folgen ähnliche Verbote wie TS 2,5,1.



gehörigen [Blut der Frau] (*ārtava*-) ungeeignet. (5) ... Die fruchtbare Periode aber, von der das dazugehörige [Blut] gesehen wurde, dauert zwölf Nächte ... (41) ... Vom ersten Tag der Beobachtung der Blüte, [die der Blutfluß ist,] an, soll sie drei Nächte keusch ... bleiben. (45) Am vierten Tag soll sie [ihren] Gatten [als ersten vor dem Verkehr wieder] ansehen<sup>39</sup> ... (46)'

Wodurch aber wurde wohl die Angabe einer dreitägigen Blutungsdauer dieser älteren Überlieferung begründet? Meine Vermutung, der ich im folgenden auch eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit verleihen zu können hoffe, geht nun dahin, daß es sich dabei um den bereits erwähnten Versuch einer Nutzung der weiblichen Fertilität unter dem Gesichtspunkt einer Absonderung von Zeugungssekret gehandelt haben muß. Ob dieser Gesichtspunkt so allerdings auch in späterer Zeit noch im Vordergrund stand, ist schwer zu sagen. Tatsache ist, daß die Auffassung von einer dreitägigen 'Unreinheit' sich bis in die jüngste Zeit gehalten hat.<sup>40</sup> Sie findet sich beispielsweise in Symbolismen aus der mittelalterlichen Epoche, die die Befruchtung der (blutend unrein gedachten) Erde durch den Regen betreffen.<sup>41</sup> Auch der Indienbericht von DUBOIS aus der Zeit zwischen 1792 und 1823 beweist, daß die Frauen noch im frühen 19. Jahrhundert nur für drei Tage als 'unrein' angesehen wurden. Alle von ihm geschilderten Verhaltensvorschriften<sup>42</sup> lassen zudem eine beeindruckende Nähe zum *Vaikhānasagr̥hyasūtra*, das in Südindien offenbar direkt oder indirekt fortgewirkt haben muß, erkennen. Richard Schmidt schließlich lagen zeitgenössische Angaben vor, wonach die Menstruationsdauer in Indien zwischen drei und fünf Tagen betragen habe.<sup>43</sup> Und noch in den Dreißiger Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts wurde — ebenfalls in Südindien — eine dreitägige Unreinheitsperiode (nach der ersten Menstruation) beobachtet.<sup>44</sup>

Es gibt nun allerdings Zeugen, die ein Unbehagen an einer Situa-

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. dazu unten, Anm. 79.

<sup>40</sup> SCHMIDT 1904, S. 202ff.

<sup>41</sup> SALOMON, S. 175.

<sup>42</sup> DUBOIS, S. 708f.

<sup>43</sup> SCHMIDT 1904, S. 210.

<sup>44</sup> BOULNOIS, S. 29.

tion artikulieren, wo ein Verkehr vorgeschrieben ist, obwohl nach Ablauf von drei Nächten ein Ende der Blutung keineswegs als selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt werden konnte:<sup>45</sup>

GGs 2,5,7-8:

*ūrdhvam trirātrāt sambhava ity eke | yadartumatī bhavaty uparataṣoṇitā tadā sambhavaḥ kālah*

"Einige [lehren] die Vereinigung nach [Ablauf von] drei Nächten." (7) "[Wir dagegen lehren:] Dann ist die Zeit für die Vereinigung [gekommen], wenn der Blutfluß der [Gattin, die ihren] *ṛtu-* hat, zur Ruhe gekommen ist." (8)'

Was Gobhila hier lehrt, wirkt auf uns wie ein Übergang zur oben bereits angeführten Lehrmeinung der Dharmaśāstras von einer viertägigen Blutungs- bzw. Enthaltsamkeitsdauer und markiert jedenfalls ein allmähliches Abgehen von offenkundig älteren Bräuchen. Der Kommentator Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, der diese beiden Sūtren in einen meines Erachtens historisch unzutreffenden, für den Problembereich der sog. Kinderehen jedoch außerordentlich aufschlußreichen Kontext stellt,<sup>46</sup> erklärt *uparata-*

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. zu dem oben (S.123f.) Gesagten auch noch Rudraskandha *ad* KhGS 1,5,15: *yadi rātryās tṛītye bhāge rajas syāt, tadottaram evāhar vidyāt*. Anders dagegen AS, Śār.1,10: *tathā raktam eva ca strīṇām māse māse garbhakoṣṭham anuprāpya tryaḥam pravartamānam ārtavam ity āhuḥ* ('Und *ārtava-* nennt man das Blut selbst, [welches], nachdem es Monat für Monat in die Gebärmutter der Frauen gelangt, drei Tage lang fließt'), ferner AH, Śār.1,7: *rajaḥ ... sravati tryaḥam*, Aruṇadatta *ad* AH, Śār.1,26: ... *tāvad ṛtur yoṣito, na punas tryaḥam eva yatra puṣpaṁ pravartate*, sowie BS 78,20b: *tryahāt samnivatate raktam*. Diese Beschränkung auf drei Tage könnte freilich auch darauf beruhen, daß das Blut hier reichlicher fließt. Vgl. Aruṇadatta *ad* AH, Śār.1,26: ... *pūrvās tisro [=] niśāḥ yāsu prāyaḥ puṣpaṁ pravartate!*

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa *ad* GGS 2,5,7 (S.351, Z.2-6): '[Mit diesem Sūtra] zeigt [Gobhila] eine Zurückweisung mit Bezug auf die Gelübde eines Snātaka an, [in]so[fern in GGS 3,5,3 gelehrt wird, daß] "[der Snātaka] nicht nach dem [Liebes-]Vergnügen (*upahāsa-*) mit einer [Frau noch] ohne Schambehaarung verlangen soll". Wenn [nämlich eine Frau, die] noch ohne Schambehaarung [als dunkler, beiderseits um den Nabel wachsender Haarstreifen erkennbar; vgl. *ad* GGS 3,5,3 (S.633, Z.14f.)] ist, überaus nach dem Liebesgenuß mit einem Mann verlangen sollte, so meinen einige (*eke*) Lehrer, daß unter diesen Umständen, weil die Hauptsache ist, sie [vor dem Verkehr mit anderen Männern] zu bewahren, die Vereinigung (*sambhava-*) ... nach drei Nächten (*ūrdhvam trirātrāt*) durchzuführen sei. In dieser Weise lehrt es auch Yājñavalkya: "Seinem Verlangen soll gehorchen, oder aber des Wunsches der Frauen eingedenk sein (Yājñ 1,81ab) [wer seiner Gattin ergeben ist. Weil es traditionell überliefert wird, daß man die Frauen [vor anderen Männern] bewahren muß (vgl. Yājñ 1,81cd)]". Die zuletzt genannte Begrün-



*śonitā* durch *apagataraktayonidvārā*, also unmißverständlich als ‘eine Frau, von deren Scheidenöffnung das Blut verschwunden ist’. Demnach aber wäre nach der älteren "Dreinächtelehre" dies gerade nicht — oder nicht notwendig immer — der Fall gewesen!<sup>47</sup>

5.2. Es muß doch ein ganz gewisser Gedanke hinter einer solchen rituellen Praxis stecken, und dieser könnte meines Erachtens mit dem Wunsch nach einer optimalen Nutzung der weiblichen Fertilität zum ehest möglichen Zeitpunkt zusammenhängen. Nun würde nach unserem Wissensstand ein zu früher Verkehr im allgemeinen im Sinne des Wortes fruchtlos bleiben, und ähnliches — nämlich daß der während der Blutung in den Mutterschoß gelangende Same wie von einem Strom weggeschwemmt werde — findet sich auch in Werken der indischen Mediziner.<sup>48</sup> Nach ihrem Zeugnis erklärte man sich im alten Indien die Zeugung aus dem Zusammentreffen von Sperma als männlichem, und (Menstrual-)Blut<sup>49</sup> als weiblichem Zeugungsstoff. Die bereits in

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dung wird mit bereits für die Brāhmaṇa-Zeit bezeugten Vorstellungen zusammenhängen (JB 1,17), die deutlich die Furcht vor der Entwicklung fremden Samens (~Selbst) im Schoß der eigenen Frau artikulieren (vgl. BODEWITZ, S.53;55, Anm.4.). *upahāsa-* (vgl. auch BĀU 6,4,3: *adhopahāsa-* <dazu AIḠR I, Nachtr. S.179: ‘Spiel in der unteren Gegend’> und PGS 1,11,6) wird von Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa (*ad* GGS 3,5,3) durch *ramanaṃ maitḥunam upabhogaḥ* erklärt. Und er setzt seine Erklärung damit fort (S.635, Z.3), daß der Verkehr mit einem solchen Mädchen in der Absicht untersagt werde, ihr keine Schmerzen zuzufügen: *bālatvāt tasyāḥ pīḍā mā bhūḍ iti tat pratiṣṭhaye*.

<sup>47</sup> Auch Haradatta macht (*ad* ĀpDhS 2,1,2,1) eine Bemerkung, die dann auf einen Verkehr während der Blutung hindeuten würde, wenn *rajas-* hier tatsächlich Blut, aber nicht — was immerhin auch denkbar, wenngleich aufgrund des Kontextes (*rtu-*) unwahrscheinlich wäre — einfach ‘weibliches Sekret’ bedeutet: ... *retaso rajasaś ca ye lepās tān adbhir mṛdā prakṣālyācamyāṅgānām śiraḥprabhṛtīnām prokṣaṇam kartavyam* (‘Wenn die Flecken von Samen und Blut mit Wasser und Erde abgewaschen wurden, wenn [danach] (rituell Wasser) geschlurft wurde, sollen [sodann] die Körperglieder vom Haupt an [mit Wasser] besprengt werden’).

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. JOLLY, S.50, sowie Das, *The Origin ...* (siehe oben, Anm.\*), §5.7.

<sup>49</sup> Die Problematik einer möglichen Identität von Blut als weiblichem Zeugungsstoff und Menstrualblut in der Sichtweise der altindischen Medizin wird von Rahul Peter Das in *The Origin ...* (siehe oben, Anm.\*) unter Berücksichtigung der diesbezüglichen Forschungsgeschichte und der Sekundärliteratur ausführlich diskutiert. In Anlehnung an die von den Medizinern verwendete Terminologie (*rajas-*, *rakta-*, *ārtava-* usw.) spreche ich weiterhin von ‘Blut’ im Bewußtsein der Möglichkeit, daß die von ihnen auf der Basis wissenschaftlicher Reflexion gewonnenen Erkenntnisse im Vergleich zu den archaischen



den Gr̥hyasūtren, aber auch in den Dharmaśāstras, vertretene Lehre nun, daß an geraden Tagen innerhalb des *rtu-* männliche, an ungeraden weibliche Nachkommenschaft erzeugt werde, begründen manche Texte mit einer je höheren Quantität an Sperma bzw. (Menstrual-)Blut, wie sie von dem betreffenden Elternteil an solchen Tagen produziert werde.<sup>50</sup> Wäre es daher nicht denkbar, daß die von uns sogenannte "Menstruation" im alten Indien vielleicht gar als eine Art von Überproduktion weiblichen Zeugungsstoffes angesehen wurde, die — wie auch die Idee von der "Wegschwemmung" des Sperma andeuten könnte — ein deutliches Vorherrschen dieses weiblichen Stoffes anzeigte und — sollte es während dieser fruchtbaren Zeit zu einer Konzeption kommen, die Wahrscheinlichkeit — wenn nicht erhebliche Gefahr — der Erzeugung von schwächlicher/weiblicher Nachkommenschaft in sich bergen mußte?<sup>51</sup> Doch zieht man in Betracht, daß die Intensität des Blutflusses vom

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Anschauungen der älteren Zeit auch bezüglich des Metabolismus differenzierter gewesen sein könnten. 'Blut' in diesem besonderen Sinne meint daher 'zeugungskräftiger Stoff' / 'weiblicher Same'. Aufschlußreich auch BS 78,20cd, wonach dieses weibliche 'Blut' (*rakta-*) aufgrund der Verbindung mit einem Mann zum Fötus wird (*tat < scil. raktam > puruṣasamprayogād avicāraṃ garbhatām yāti*). Vgl. auch die nächste Anmerkung.

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. Mān 3,49. Für die Mediziner JOLLY, S.51. Man beachte, daß gemäß Aruṇadatta das *ārtava-*, welches er (*ad* AH, Śār. 1,22) als *yonimukhāt pravartamānaṃ raktam* erklärt hatte, auch in den Nächten 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 nach Beginn des *rtu-* als quantitativ gering zwar, aber immer noch *da seiend*, angesehen wurde: ... *tāsu hi rātriṣv ārtavam alpibhavati*, ganz wie der männliche Same in den Nächten 5, 7, 9 *alpibhavati* (*ad* AH, Śār. 1,26).

<sup>51</sup> So bereits TS 2,5,1,4-6, vgl. unten. Aus späterer Zeit SuS (Śār. 2,33), wonach bereits am ersten Tag der Blutung eine Empfängnis zwar als möglich erachtet, die dabei erzeugte (männliche) Nachkommenschaft jedoch als kurzlebig und ohne ausgebildete Körperglieder beschrieben wird; Das, *The Origin ...* (siehe oben, Anm.\*), § 5.7. Vor allem aber ist die Auffassung gut bezeugt, daß ein Sohn umso trefflicher werde, je weiter von der "vierten Nacht" entfernt die Zeugung erfolge. Vgl. dazu auch die Zitate in GGS(Calc.) S.355, Z.18ff. Wirklich bemerkenswert sind in diesem Zusammenhang die verwandten Anschauungen der aristotelischen Zeugungslehre, wonach das Katamenienblut als "mütterlicher Same" die vom Vater zu befruchtende Grundsubstanz bildet, und daß demgemäß eine Empfängnis auch während der eigentlichen Menstruation möglich sei (BIRKHAN I, S.252, Anm. 795). Es könnte sich hierbei, da in den vedischen Texten ähnliche Vorstellungen vorherrschen, um mehr als bloß eine Spontanparallele handeln. Die verblüffende Ähnlichkeit der mittelalterlichen und alchemistischen Zeugungslehre (BIRKHAN I, S.243ff.) mit der der altindischen Mediziner (etwa das periodische Schließen der *yonī-*) ließe sich neben der Tatsache einer Vermittlung der aristotelischen Lehre

vom vierten Tag an im allgemeinen merklich nachläßt,<sup>52</sup> so könnte diese besondere Auffassung von der zeugungskräftigen Natur des Blutes eine von mehreren denkbaren Ursachen für die Vorschrift sein, sich der Gattin in der vierten Nacht, wo die Quantität des Sperma die des weiblichen Zeugungsstoffes ja bereits ersichtlich übertrifft, als dem für eine Sohneszeugung ehest günstigen Zeitpunkt geschlechtlich zu nahen.

Läßt diese Interpretation der medizinischen und der Dharmaśāstra-Überlieferung sich denn nun in die Vorstellungswelt der Epoche der Gṛhyasūtren transponieren<sup>53</sup> und sich für diese auch wahrscheinlich machen? Daß die altindische Medizin bekanntlich in historischer Beziehung zum *Atharvaveda* stehen soll und ihre Texte nachweislich auch älteste Bräuche überliefern, die aus anderen Texten nur mehr mühsam — oder kaum mehr — rekonstruierbar sind, wie etwa am Beispiel des priesterlichen Offizianten bei der Defloration<sup>54</sup> ersichtlich wird, wäre ein — wenngleich nicht unbedingt zwingendes — Argument. Eine der vedischen Überlieferungsmasse zugehörige, explizitere Bezeugung dieser Auffassung von *ārtavā-* als weiblichem Zeugungsstoff aber verleihe diesem Argument — als Bindeglied zum *ṛtviya-* der Saṃhitās gewissermaßen — entscheidend mehr Gewicht.

### 5.3. Das *missing link*: KauṣU 1,6

In der *Kauṣītakyupaniṣad*<sup>55</sup> findet sich bekanntlich eine Lehre vom

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durch die arabische Tradition in das lateinische Mittelalter (BIRKHAN I, S.241) auch dadurch erklären, daß die arabischen Quellen (Al-Bīrūnī) auch Caraka — aus dem Indischen in das Persische und danach (um 800) in das Arabische übertragen — kannten (JOLLY, S.11).

<sup>52</sup> HINRICHSSEN, S.73.

<sup>53</sup> Es ließe sich gegen eine solche Transponierung z.B. einwenden, daß die Gṛhyasūtren ja ohnehin ein besonderes Ritual zur 'Sohneserzielung' (*pumsavana-*) vorschrieben, und daß, da dieses Ritual erst nach 'Entfaltung der Leibesfrucht' (*vyakte garbhe*) auszuführen war, ein Glaube an männliche und weibliche 'Zeugungsstoffe' dort daher eher unwahrscheinlich sei. Dem wäre aber entgegenzuhalten, daß manche Sūtren eben beides, sowohl die Anschauung von den für die Sohneserzielung günstigeren, vom vierten Tag des Blutungsbeginns weiter entfernten Zeugungsnächten und ein *pumsavana-*Ritual — nebeneinandergestellt und doppelte Absicherung bewirkend bzw. mehreren Überlieferungen gerecht zu werden versuchend — überliefern (vgl. z.B. ĀpGS 3,9,1 und 6,14,9; BGS 1,7,46 und 1,9,1). Vgl. auch WEZLER 1993, S.290, Anm.38.

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. oben, Anm.37.

<sup>55</sup> Die Upaniṣad wurde von FRENZ kritisch ediert und übersetzt, die philologisch



Weg in die himmlische Welt,<sup>56</sup> die sich aufgrund richtiger Antworten auf Fragen, die vom Mond gestellt werden, auftut. Wer die Antworten nicht kennt, wird wieder zur Erde 'herabgeregnet'. Es handelt sich hier (KauṣU 1,2) um die Schilderung von [Wieder-]*Geburt*, und demgemäß sind die betreffenden Textstücke — was die Bearbeiter durchaus sahen<sup>57</sup> — voll von diesbezüglichen Metaphern und doppelsinnig gebrauchten Begriffen. Auch *ṛtu-* und *ārtava-* kommen vor, an zwei Stellen (KauṣU 1,2;6) sogar in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft. Die letztere der beiden Stellen ist in ihrem kleinen Kontext nun aber so explizit hinsichtlich des Gemeinten, daß ein Zweifel darüber meines Erachtens kaum möglich ist. Sie lautet:

KauṣU I,6:

*ṛtur asmy ārtavo 'smy ākāśād yoneḥ sambhūto bhāryāyai retah*

...

FRENZ, S.108 übersetzt:

‘Mondumlauf bin ich, ein Nachkomme der Mondumläufe bin ich, aus dem Luftraum als [meiner] Geburtsstätte bin ich entstanden, als Same für die Gattin [oder: als Same der Gattin], ...’

FRENZ geht hier nur auf die Bedeutungsebene des kosmischen, aber nicht auf die des menschlich-biologischen Aspekts ein, der jedoch zweifellos mitgemeint<sup>58</sup> ist. Und unter Berücksichtigung dieser Ebene wäre doch übersetzend zu ergänzen:

‘Fruchtbare Zeit bin ich, zur fruchtbaren Zeit gehöriger [Stoff]

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und exegetisch beispielhaft bearbeiteten Parallelstellen des *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* können — ebenso wie die relevante Sekundärliteratur — bei BODEWITZ, S.52-61 (JB 1,17-18) und S.110-123 (JB 1,49-50) bequem nachgeschlagen werden.

<sup>56</sup> Vgl. dazu THIEME 1951/52.

<sup>57</sup> Vgl. auch die Übersetzung von KauṣU 1,2 von THIEME 1968, S.58: ‘... Durch ihre Hauche (d.h. "Seelen") schwillt er [scil. der Mond] (wie eine Schwangere [!]) in der ersten Monatshälfte an. In der zweiten läßt er sie (wie am Ende der Schwangerschaft [!]) geboren werden. ...’

<sup>58</sup> Man vgl., was im zu diesen Abschnitten in Beziehung stehenden JB I,17 gesagt wird: ‘Two wombs, indeed, there are. The divine womb is the one, the human womb the other. There are, indeed, also two worlds. The divine world is the one, the human world the other. The human womb is (related to) the human world. It is the generative organ of the woman. Out of that progeny is born. ...’ (BODEWITZ, S.53).



bin ich, hervorgekommen aus der Öffnung,<sup>59</sup> [die] die Vulva ist/hat, als Same der/aus der Gattin, ... .’

So besehen besteht nun bereits ein ausreichend hoher Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit für ein- und denselben Sinn von *ārtava*- und *ṛtviya*-, so daß ein probeweises Einsetzen dieser Bedeutung in *Taittirīyaśamhitā* 2,5,1 auf jeden Fall gerechtfertigt erscheint.

Der Ideen-Strang als solcher aber, der hier sichtbar wird, muß ja nicht notwendig zu allen Zeiten und in allen Regionen Indiens allein bestimmend gewesen sein. Wir wissen ja auch von Berührungsangst aufgrund von Bluttabu und müssen mit der damit zusammenhängenden Furcht vor Verunreinigung bzw. Kontamination durch die im Blut enthalten seiend gedachten, schädlichen Stoffe rechnen. Die Tatsache aber, daß der hier geschilderte Strang sich im textarchäologischen, aufgrund seiner Zweidimensionalität besondere Probleme der Schichtung aufwerfenden Scherbenmaterial wirklich findet, beweist hinlänglich seine einstige Existenz.

### 6.1. Nochmals TS 2,5,1,5

Kehren wir nun nochmals zum Ausgangspunkt unserer Untersuchung zurück, um das neu gewonnene Verständnis dem Prüfstein der sprachlich älteren Überlieferung auszusetzen.

Da erweist sich dann in der Tat, daß die Aussagen — vor dem Hintergrund solchen Denkens und dem eines darauf beruhenden magisch-äquivalenten Handelns allerdings — sogar sinnvoll und für uns verständlich werden.

Faßt man nun *ṛtviya*- aus TS 2,5,1,5 (*tāsmād ṛtviyāt strīyaḥ prajāṃ vindante, kāmam ā vījanitoḥ sām bhavanti*) als substantiviertes Zugehörigkeitsadjektiv in dem genannten Sinne auf, so ergibt sich als sinnvolle Aussage:

‘Darum erlangen die Frauen aus<sup>60</sup> [ihrem] zur fruchtbaren Periode gehörenden [Zeugungsstoff] (*ṛtviyāt*) Nachkommen-

<sup>59</sup> Vgl. BODEWITZ, S.56.

<sup>60</sup> Interpretation des Ablativs gemäß SPEYER, §53: ‘Ferner bezeichnet der Abl. die Herkunft, resp. den Stoff, woraus etwas hervorgeht, geboren wird, ... .’ Sāyaṇa erklärt hier (S.348, Z.28) *ṛtviya*- ausdrücklich als fruchtbaren Stoff/Samen (*ṛtviyād [=] ṛtusam-bandhād vīryāt*), und Bhaṭṭabhāskara sieht den Begriff als bedeutungsgleich mit *ārtava*- an: *ṛtuḥ prāpto ’syeti ṛtviyam ārtavam ucyate* (S.347, Z.19).

schaft, nach Lust vereinigen sie sich [danach],<sup>61</sup> bis sie gebären.'

Es erschiene mir allerdings höchst problematisch, wollte man im Lichte dieser aus der schulverwandten Ritualliteratur und von anderen Zeugen stammenden Beispiele die oben (*sub* 3.1) genannten philologischen Interpretationen von TS 2,5,1,5-7 aufrechterhalten. Man müßte dann nämlich zeigen können, daß — und in der Folge auch wie — sich ein solch tiefgreifender Wandel sowohl bezüglich der Interpretation des Mythos als auch bezüglich der Funktion des Rituals in jener vergleichsweise kurzen Zeit ereignet haben konnte, die zwischen den Brāhmaṇa-Teilen der TS und den Gṛhyasūtren derselben Śākhā liegt. Vor allem aber wäre dann auch eine Aufklärung darüber wünschenswert, wie man sich das Paarungsverhalten während des Nägelschneidens etc. zu denken habe, und welcher Grund sich eigentlich für ein Verbot desselben anführen ließe! Und es ist in der Tat der Erwähnung wert, daß es europäische Gelehrte waren, die keinerlei Bedenken zeigten, auf dem eigenen kulturellen Hintergrund gewachsene Vorstellungen — mochten sie auch noch so gewagt und absurd sein — ganz ernsthaft in die Texte der alten Inder zu lesen. Der davon offenkundig unberührt gebliebene P.V. Kane

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<sup>61</sup> D.h. nach einer erfolgreichen Konzeption, wo kein *ṛtu-* mehr sichtbar wird! Dieser Teil des Wunsches wird gemäß VDhŚ (12,24) auch in der *Kāthakasamhitā* überliefert: *api ca kāṭhake vijñāyate: api naḥ śvo vijaniṣyamāṇāḥ patibhiḥ saha śayīrann iti strīṇām indradatto vara iti*. Es dürfte dies meines Erachtens darauf beruhen, daß man einen deutlichen Unterschied machte zwischen einem Verkehr während des *ṛtu-*, der ausschließlich der Zeugung von Nachkommenschaft diene und deshalb mit dem nötigen Ernst und vor allem unter ritueller Absicherung vollzogen wurde, und dem reinen Liebesvergnügen (*kāma-*). Die von den Gṛhyasūtren und den Dharmaśāstras gegebenen, genauen "Verkehrsanweisungen" betreffen ja nur den *ṛtu-*, mithin maximal die ersten 16 Tage nach Einsetzen der Blutung. Die restliche Zeit war dem *kāma-* vorbehalten. Damit dürfte auch zusammenhängen, daß die Mediziner (z.B. CarS, Śār.8,7; AH, Śār.1,34f.) vorschreiben, daß die Frau — um den Samen aufzunehmen — lang hingestreckt (*uttānā*) liegen müsse, und daß sie deshalb andere Stellungen untersagen. Auch Varāhamihira schließt während des *ṛtu-* ausdrücklich aus, daß die — für das Kāmaśāstra typischen — Nägelmale und Biß-Spuren angebracht werden (BS 78,26ab). Daraus könnte man schließen, das Kāmaśāstra betreffe nur die Zeit außerhalb des *ṛtu-*. Und in der Tat gehen die indischen Erotologen meines Wissens in ihren Werken auf die Zeugung selbst nie ein! Wie die in Rede stehende TS-Stelle, trennen auch die Dharmaśāstras den *kāma-* vom *ṛtu-* (vgl. Mān 3,45cd; YājñS 1,81). Somit könnte die Periode, auf die die eigentlichen Kāmaśāstras sich beziehen, ursprünglich auch schon aufgrund ihrer Bezeichnung als hinlänglich klar empfunden worden sein.



aber konnte den Sachverhalt unbefangener<sup>62</sup> und daher auch durchaus folgerichtig darstellen.<sup>63</sup> Allerdings war einem richtigen Verständnis durch die spezifischen Bedeutungen, die bereits Boehtlingk in seinen Wörterbüchern gab<sup>64</sup>, bereits der richtige, doch leider von niemandem beschrittene Weg gewiesen.

## 6.2. Übersetzung von TS 2,5,1,5-7

In diesem Textabschnitt geht es daher um Folgendes:

1. Mythische Begründung für die Produktion weiblichen, scil. blutig erscheinenden, Zeugungsstoffes.

2. Verbote bezüglich des Umgangs mit einer Frau, solange sie noch überreichlich Zeugungsstoff absondert.

3. Unerwünschte Konsequenzen für die Nachkommenschaft im Falle einer Zeugung bereits während der Absonderung des weiblichen Sekrets.

4. Unerwünschte Konsequenzen für die Nachkommenschaft aufgrund spezifischer, im magischen Sinne äquivalent wirkender Handlungen einer — wie an ihrer reichlichen Sekretabsonderung erkennbar — *potentiell* bereits schwangeren, Frau.

Die entsprechende Übersetzung lautet:

‘[1.] Sie sprachen: "Wir wollen uns ein Geschenk nach Wunsch erwählen: Aus dem zur fruchtbaren Periode gehörenden [Zeugungsstoff] (*ṛtviyāt*) wollen wir Nachkommenschaft erlangen, nach Lust wollen wir uns [danach] bis zur Geburt vereinigen!" Darum erlangen die Frauen aus [ihrem] zur fruchtbaren Periode gehörenden [Zeugungsstoff] Nachkommenschaft, nach Lust vereinigen sie sich [danach], bis sie gebären. Denn [ihr] Wunsch [nach Fruchtbarkeit] wurde ihnen gewährt. Sie nah-

<sup>62</sup> Vgl. auch die oben (*sub* 2.3) angegebenen Bedeutungen im Wörterbuch von AP-TE, S.490, s.v. *ṛtuḥ*: ‘3 Menstruation, courses, menstrual discharge. 4 A period favourable for conception’; s.v. *ṛtviya*, *ṛtvyā* ‘3 Menstruating. 4 Being in the period most favourable to conception. n. Menstruation’! Zur Problematik und zu den Folgen eines wissenschaftlichen "inferiority complex" aber äußert sich WEZLER 1994.

<sup>63</sup> HDH 2,2, S.803.

<sup>64</sup> PW I (1855), Sp.1053, s.v. *ṛtū* ‘3) die Regeln der Weiber, *insbes.* die unmittelbar darauffolgenden, zur Zeugung günstigen Tage’; pw I (1879), S.262, s.v. *ṛtū*: ‘4) die Regeln der Weiber, *insbes.* die unmittelbar darauf folgenden, zur Empfängnis geeigneten Tage ... — 5) der Beischlaf zu dieser Zeit’.



men den dritten Teil des Brahmanenmordes entgegen. Dieser [Teil des Mordes] wurde eine [Frau, die] ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt (*málavadvāsas-*)<sup>65</sup>.

‘[2.] Darum darf man sich mit einer [solchen, die zum Zeichen der überreichlichen Absonderung] ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt, nicht unterhalten, (5) nicht zusammen [mit ihr] sitzen, nicht Speise von ihr essen. Denn sie hat die Farbe/Umhüllung<sup>66</sup> des Brahmanenmordes angelegt.<sup>67</sup> Man sagt [demgegenüber]<sup>68</sup> aber auch: "Die Speise einer Frau ist in der Tat [ihr Körper-]Öl/Beischlaf(?)<sup>69</sup>. Nur [ihr] Öl/[ihren] Beischlaf(?) darf man nicht entgegennehmen, anderes [darf man] nach Belieben [entgegennehmen]."

‘[3.] Wer aus einer solchen [Frau] entsteht, die man beschief, als sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trug, wird verflucht sein; der [Nachkomme] einer solchen<sup>70</sup>, die man[, als sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trug,]<sup>71</sup> in der Wildnis [heimlich beschief,] ein Dieb; der einer solchen, die sich [ängstlich] abwandte, als man sie [— ein blutbeflecktes Kleid tragend — beschief,] von schüchternem Antlitz [und] verzagt.

‘[4.] [Der] einer solchen, die badet, [während sie ein blutbe-

<sup>65</sup> Vgl. oben, Anm.14 sowie die Erklärungen von Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra (*malavadvāsasāḥ* [=] *rajasvalā*) und Sāyaṇācārya (*sā malavadvāsā* [=] *rajasvalā yoṣid abhavat*).

<sup>66</sup> *vārṇa-*, womit auch auf das Kleid selbst angespielt werden könnte.

<sup>67</sup> Zu *prātiśmuc* (‘anziehen’) vgl. DELBRÜCK, S.463. Zu *āste* id., S.408.

<sup>68</sup> Zitat einer abweichenden Meinung. Zu *átho khálu* in einwendendem Sinne vgl. DELBRÜCK, S.493.

<sup>69</sup> *abhyañjana-* war Kumārila, der dies anlässlich der Erörterung dieser Stelle erwähnt (*Tantravārttika ad MīSū* 3,4,19), als ein von den Lāṭas gebrauchtes Synonym für den Beischlaf (*upagamana-*) bekannt: *lāṭānām apy abhyañjanaparyāyāntaravācya lakṣaṇam upagamanaṁ prasiddham*. Vgl. HDH 2,2, S.803, Anm.1917. Die Lāṭas standen hinsichtlich ihrer sexuellen Praktiken in besonderem Ruf; vgl. die Angaben bei SCHMIDT 1922, S.335f.

<sup>70</sup> Zur Doppeldeutigkeit des Kasus (Gen./Abl.) vgl. OERTEL, S.23 (= *Kl.Schr.*, S.1033).

<sup>71</sup> Das Attribut *málavadvāsas-* gilt von hier an weiter! So ganz richtig von Sāyaṇa gesehen (S.350, Z.15).

flecktes Kleid trägt,]<sup>72</sup> wird den Tod im Wasser finden; [der] einer solchen, die (6) sich einölt, [während sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt,] wird kranke Haut haben; [der] einer, die sich kämmt,<sup>73</sup> [während sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt,] wird kahlköpfig [und] dahinsiechend sein; [der] einer, die [ihre Augen] schminkt, [während sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt,] einäugig; [der] einer, die [ihre] Zähne reinigt, [während sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt,] wird schwarzbraune Zähne haben; [der] einer, die sich die Nägel schneidet, [während sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt,] wird verwachsene Nägel haben; [der] einer, die spinnt, [während sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt,] entmannt sein; [der] einer, die ein Seil dreht, [während sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt,] wird [den Tod] im Erhängen [finden]; [der] einer, die mittels eines Blattes trinkt, [während sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt,] wird trunksüchtig werden; [der] einer, die mittels eines schadhafte Gefäßes trinkt, [während sie ein blutbeflecktes Kleid trägt,] wird [ebenfalls] mit Schaden sein. Drei Nächte soll sie [diese] Observanz befolgen. Mit der hohlen Hand oder einem schadlosen (7) Gefäß darf sie [während dieser Zeit] trinken, zum Schutze der [sich bereits entwickelnden] Nachkommenschaft.<sup>74</sup>

Die Stelle als solche halte ich — ebenso wie BĀU 6,4 — für eine erhalten gebliebene Frühform<sup>75</sup> solcher häuslichen Riten, wie sie später in den Gr̥hyasūtren unter Bezeichnungen wie *ṛtusāṅgamaṇa-* oder *garbhādhāna-* rituell fertig ausgebildet hervortreten. Da ein weiblicher *ṛtu-* von der ihn begleitenden Blutung eben nicht zu trennen ist, insofern sein Beginn mit dieser vermehrten Sekretabsonderung zusammenfällt, kann ich in diesem Abschnitt nichts anderes sehen als die rituelle Auseinandersetzung mit einem magisch prinzipiell zwar als gefährlich erachteten Blutfluß, der aber — aufgrund von Beobachtung der Zusammenhänge — zugleich auch als zeugungskräftig angesehen worden war.

<sup>72</sup> Das Attribut *mālavadvāsas-* gilt auch hier weiter!

<sup>73</sup> DELBRÜCK, S.251; KEITH, S.189, Anm.4; KRICK, S.512, Anm.1388.

<sup>74</sup> Vgl. Sāyaṇa (S.350, Z.22): *etac ca vratācaraṇam utpatsyamānāyāḥ prajāyā rakṣaṇārtham bhavati!*

<sup>75</sup> Vgl. GONDA 1980, S.366f., wo ebenfalls frühe Spuren von *samskāras* in den Brāhmaṇas aufgezeigt werden, sowie SMITH 1986, S.80.



7. Nochmals zu den Stellen aus *Ṛg-* und *Atharvaveda*1a. *ṚV* 5,46,8d (*ṛtú-*): *vyántu ... yá ṛtúr jánīnām:*‘... sollen kommen [zu der Zeit], welche<sup>76</sup> die fruchtbare Periode der Frauen ist.’1b. *ṚV* 10,183,2b (*ṛtvya-*): *svāyām tanū ṛtvyē nādhamānām:*‘... [sah dich,] für deinen Leib erflehend<sup>77</sup>/hoffend auf den zur fruchtbaren Periode gehörenden [Zeugungs]stoff.’<sup>78</sup>2a. *AV* 12,3,29c (*ṛtviya-*): *yóṣeva dr̥ṣtvā pátim ṛtviyāya ...:*‘... wie eine Frau, die [ihren] Gatten [nach Beendigung ihrer Blutungs-Seklusion(?)] zum Zwecke der [Nutzung ihres] zur fruchtbaren Periode gehörenden [Zeugungs]stoffes [als ersten vor dem Verkehr wieder] (an)sieht<sup>79</sup> ... .’2b. *AV* 14,2,37a (*ṛtviya-*): *sām pitarāv ṛtviye sr̥jethām ...:*‘Vereint, ihr beiden Eltern, [eure] zur fruchtbaren Periode gehörenden [Zeugungs]stoffe!’<sup>80</sup>


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<sup>76</sup> Der Anmerkung von GELDNER, S.52 folgend, daß der Lokativ in einen Relativsatz mit Nominativ umgewandelt sei.

<sup>77</sup> AIGR I, S.123.

<sup>78</sup> Grassmann, der in seinem Wörterbuch (GRASSMANN 1873, S.287) vorerst noch ‘menstruierend’ als Bedeutung angegeben hatte, traf, indem er sich in seiner Übersetzung (GRASSMANN 1876-1877, S.430) dann für ‘Fruchtbarkeit’ entschied, bereits besser! In der Folge aber entfernte man sich davon immer weiter, wie WINTERNITZ (S.90: ‘... flechtest um Empfängnis für deinen Leib’) und GELDNER (‘wie du am eigenen Leibe zur Zeit der Regel Not littest’) zeigen.

<sup>79</sup> Die Wendung *bhartāram śdr̥ś* kommt in verwandtem Kontext, d.h. anlässlich von *ṛtusāṅgamaṇa*-Riten, wenn die Frau nach Beendigung ihrer dreitägigen Zurückgezogenheit die Reinigungszeremonien des vierten Tages an sich selbst vollzogen hat und sich danach zum pflichtgemäßen Verkehr bei ihrem Mann regelmäßig wieder einfindet, — ‘ihn [als ersten vor dem Verkehr wieder] (an)sieht’ — zur Anwendung. Nach Auffassung der Sūtren und der Mediziner beeinflußt das Aussehen des zuerst erblickten Mannes das der Nachkommenschaft; z.B. VKhGS 3,9 (*caturthyām ... snātvā ... aparam adṛṣtvā bhartāram paśyed yasmād ṛtusnātā yādṛśam puruṣam paśyet tādr̥śī prajā bhavati*); AS, Śār.1,46; CS, Śār.2,24; AH, Śār.1,25, usw. Vgl. auch WEZLER 1993, S.289.

<sup>80</sup> So vom Padapāṭha, der *ṛtviye* als Dual auslegt, offenbar doch besser verstanden als von GONDA 1964/65, S.14, der ausdrücklich gegen den Padapāṭha einen Lokativ verschlimmbessert: ‘At the time after the monthly courses!’ Daß jedoch — auch schon in der ältesten Zeit — die Frau als *mitzeugend* angesehen wurde, zeigen weitere Stellen aus dem Hochzeitslied des AV (z.B. 14,2,31b: ... *prajāṁ janaya pátye asmái*; 14,2,37d: *prajāṁ*



Wir haben nun insgesamt auch ein schönes Beispiel<sup>81</sup> für ein sogar mehrdimensionales kulturelles Mißverstehen gewonnen: Für den alten Inder signalisierte die vermehrte Absonderung des weiblichen Zeugungsstoffes (*ṛtv(i)ya-* oder *ārtavá-*) den Beginn der Fertilitätsperiode (*ṛtú-*) seiner Frau. Zur Benennung dieser regelmäßig auftretenden, fruchtbaren Periode<sup>82</sup> verwendete man das Wort *ṛtú-*, welches die Kontinuität periodischer Zeitläufe und damit auch die von Jahreszeiten — ebenso wie die der weiblichen Fertilitätsperioden — bezeichnet. Daß die für diese Zeit vorgeschriebenen rituellen Verbote dem ‘Schutz der [sich entwickelnden] Nachkommenschaft’ galten, macht wahrscheinlich, daß eine Frau zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits als *potentiell* schwanger angesehen worden war. Unter einer solchen Voraussetzung ist auch vorstellbar, daß eben die Gefahr einer durch äußere Umstände negativen Beeinflussung der bereits irgendwie — in archaischer Zeit aus der Absonderung des weiblichen Sekrets möglicherweise in Analogie zum Brunstsaft<sup>83</sup> der beobachteten Tierwelt erschlossen — präexistierend gedachten Frucht zu bannen war! Die semantische Extension des indischen Begriffes *ṛtu-* schließt das, was wir ‘Menstruation’ nennen, daher zwar durchaus mit ein, führt jedoch, da diese bloß am Beginn jeder empfängnisgeeigneten Periode steht und ihren Beginn markiert, gleichzeitig über sie hinaus. Die Projektion der Semantik des europäischen Begriffs von einer weiblichen ‘Blutungs-Periode’ (Menstruation) in den der indischen ‘Fertilitäts-Periode’<sup>84</sup> (*ṛtu-*), die eine nur scheinbar begriffliche Dek-

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*kṛṇvāthām ihá ...*), aus dem TB (z.B. 3,7,1,9: *sahá réto dadhāvahai*) sowie aus BĀU 6,4,20 (*sahá reto dadhāvahai*). Der letztgenannte Text spricht auch ausdrücklich davon, daß eine Frau Samen (*retas-*) habe, den der Mann an sich ziehen könne (BĀU 6,4,10). Sie werde dann eine ‘ganz ohne Samen’ (*aretā eva bhavati*). Vgl. auch KauṣU 1,6: *bhāryāyai retah* (oben, S.133).

<sup>81</sup> Zu einem anderen Fall (‘Sprachlaut/Buchstabe’) vgl. WEZLER 1994.

<sup>82</sup> Insofern sie diese besondere Bedeutung des Terminus unterdrücken, werden die Werke von RENOU und RAGHAVAN ihren Titeln nicht gerecht.

<sup>83</sup> *ārtava-* hat unter anderem auch die Bedeutung einer ‘Flüssigkeit, die ein Thierweibchen zur Zeit der Brunst entläßt’ (pw I, S.185). Zweifelsohne wurde die Beobachtung gemacht, daß die Tiere sich genau zu dieser Zeit paarten und die Weibchen in der Folge trächtig wurden. Der analoge Schluß auf das Zeugungsgeschehen beim Menschen konnte nicht ausbleiben und mag von da her vielleicht sogar ursächlich für die “Dreinächtelehre” und den ersten Verkehr noch während einer bestehenden Blutung in der vierten Nacht gewesen sein.

<sup>84</sup> In diesem Sinne ganz zutreffend auch bei MEYER, S.216; SCHMIDT 1922, S.285:

kung provozierte, verbaute aber jede Möglichkeit, etwas für uns Fremdes darin auszumachen. Doch liegt dieses Fremde neben der erweiterten Semantik von 'Fertilität' auch im besonderen Charakter des blutigen Sekrets, das, anders als nach abendländisch-europäischer Auffassung, als eine Überproduktion weiblichen Zeugungsstoffes den Beginn erneuter Fruchtbarkeit verhieß. An Geldners RV-Übersetzung ('wie du am eigenen Leibe zur Zeit der Regel Not littest'), die eine in Europa herrschende Vorstellung vom Wesen der Menstruation als eines eher krankheitsartigen, schmerzhaften Vorgangs auf die völlig andersgeartete indische überträgt, wird die ganze Tiefe der Dimension des Mißverstehens erst recht klar!

Ich denke, daß bereits aus der eben demonstrierten Untersuchung eines simplen — und damit meine ich: eines von beispielsweise philosophisch komplizierteren Konnotationen freien — Begriffs deutlich hervorgeht, wie schwierig es ist, sich möglicher unbemerkt wirkender Leitvorstellungen der eigenen Kultur bewußt zu werden, um sich dann von diesen überhaupt erst freimachen zu können. Aber ein einigermaßen adäquates Bild der Ideenwelt fremder und alter Kulturen läßt sich auf einer anderen Grundlage als dem Versuch solchen Bewußtwerdens nicht erarbeiten. Dazu bedarf es vor allem der unvoreingenommenen Exegese, die ja den Sinn des Wortes, wie er in seinem geschichtlichen Wandel *in concreto* gemeint war, aus den Redezusammenhängen erschließen kann. Das ist die Aufgabe des historischen Philologen, der, will er solche Kulturen mit deren Augen erkunden, um angemessen beschreiben zu können, wie sie die Welt sahen, sich die Sensibilität für die Tatsache bewahren muß, daß es zahllos mehr und vor allem andere Weisen als nur die unsere gibt, sich die Welt gedanklich und sprachlich "*anzuverwandeln*"<sup>85</sup>. Denn andernfalls erläge man leicht der Gefahr, dieses "andere" — ohne dessen überhaupt je gewahr geworden zu sein — in die eigenen kulturellen Vorstellungen "*umzuverwandeln*"!

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'Die zur Konzeption geeignete Zeit'. Es erweist sich überhaupt, daß die mit der Untersuchung der späteren, vor allem der Śāstra-Literatur, befaßten Philologen diese Bedeutung von *ṛtu-* zwar völlig klar gesehen hatten, daß aber — einer für die Geschichte unserer Wissenschaft bemerkenswert offenkundigen Bruchlinie zufolge — die vedistische Forschung davon keine Notiz nahm.

<sup>85</sup> Vgl. dazu HACKER, S.304 (= *Kl.Schr.*, S.28).



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### Nachtrag

Im *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, 6. Lieferung, Göttingen 1990, finden sich auf S.425 folgende, die vorangegangene Untersuchung ergänzende und zugleich bestätigende Einträge: s.v. *ṛtu* m.1. 'die (zur Empfängnis geeignete) Periode (einer Frau)'; s.v. *ṛtu-mat* mfn. 'die (zur Empfängnis geeignete) Periode habend'. Als Belegstelle wird (Dh[arma]sk[andha] 6 VI) angeführt: *mātā ca kalyā bhavati ~[=ṛtu]matī gandharvvaś ca pratyupasthito bhavati*. Zum Gandharven in diesem besonderen, buddhistisch konnotierten Kontext äußert sich bereits H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin <sup>4</sup>1927, S.252f.

Zur Bibliographie wäre der Vollständigkeit halber nachzutragen: Julia Leslie: 'Some traditional Indian views on menstruation and female sexuality.' *Sexual knowledge, sexual science. The history of attitudes to sexuality*. Ed. by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich. Cambridge 1994, S.63-81.

**Summary:** *The present investigation examines the particular meaning of the term ṛtú- and of its derivatives ṛtv(i)ya- and ārtavá- when they occur contextually related to women. At least European Vedic scholars seem to have taken it for granted that these terms, the most*



general meaning of which is '(belonging to) a division of time, period, season' cannot but refer to the monthly period of women, thus denoting the time of their "menstrual flow". But since the nature of that flow was conceived of according to the European knowledge of the biological function of menstruation, the terms were not only translated accordingly, but were also interpreted by applying European concepts and values of menstrual blood to those of Vedic India. The results of this examination, however, point to the fact that a particular opinion testified to in medical Śāstras with regard to the power of fecundity of "menstrual blood" must already have been present in the Vedic period, though — based on simple observations only — less developed in a scientific manner.

Keeping in mind that we are concerned here with only a strand — possibly one among many others — in the history of ideas in ancient India, the results can roughly and in a perhaps somewhat oversimplified manner be described thus:

1) ṛtú- denotes a period of female fecundity lasting — according to different traditions — between twelve and sixteen days. One must, however, keep in mind that such a period starts with the visible occurrence ('stained garments') of a fluid appearing bloody (ārtavá-).

2) Most likely due to observing the fluid discharged by females of animals in heat, ārtavá- was attributed a power of fecundity and accordingly was regarded as a kind of female seed.

3) To utilise this power intercourse was prescribed already during the flow, the husband wearing a particular dress ritually fit for occasions involving blood (strīvāsa-). The first three days of discharge were, however, avoided, either for fear of producing female offspring — due to the massive flow of female seed which during this time was regarded as still surpassing the male seed in quantity — or else for fear of contact with a bloody and therefore magically dangerous fluid.

4) Derived from ṛtú- ('period of fecundity, period fit for procreation') and used as nouns, ṛtv(i)ya- and ārtavá- express the idea of a particular fluid women produce periodically as their seed. Possibly due to its overproduction during the first three days, which at the same time marks the beginning of every fecund period, it visibly flows out of the body. After that — still being produced, but lesser in quantity — it remains within the body, keeping its procreative power until it, and therefore the ṛtú- itself, comes to an end. Thus ṛtv(i)ya- and ārtavá- denote already in Vedic times a '[procreative fluid of women] belonging to [their whole] period of fecundity'.

5) In the course of time an increasing disapproval of intercourse during the "menstrual flow" is testified to by the Dharmasāstras, extending the number of chaste nights from three to (theoretically) four, but to six at least if male offspring was desired.



# Gushing Mercury, Fleeing Maiden: A Rasaśāstra Motif in Mughal Painting

SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA, YADUENDRA SAHAI

1.1. Liquid and at the same time heavy, or solid and yet volatile, mercury (*rasa*, *pārada*) has excited the imagination of mankind in most cultures and times. In India, several amazing qualities were attributed to it. Brahmagupta and other astronomers thought that mercury can overcome inertia and produce perpetual motion.<sup>1</sup> Writers on engineering like Bhoja saw in it the means for overcoming gravity and of enabling ships to fly in the skies.<sup>2</sup> Alchemists tried to transmute base metals into gold with its help, and doctors of medicine imagined that it would protect the human body from decay.

1.2. The last two notions coalesced into a system of belief called *Rasa-vāda*. In the fourteenth century, Mādhava Vidyāranya summarised this system under the name *Raseśvara-vāda*.<sup>3</sup> The followers of this school believed that liberation was possible within this life (*jīvanmukti*), that the first step on the path of liberation was the preservation of the physical body, and that the body could be preserved by the employment of mercury.

Mādhava stresses that the prime concern of the Rasaśāstra is not just alchemical or metallurgical (*Dhātu-vāda*). The ultimate aim of the transmutation of the body is liberation. Thus it is said in the *Rasārṇava*:

‘Just as mercury is applied to the [base] metal, so it should be applied to the gross body, for its effect, O Goddess, is the same on the body and on the metal. Let it be first tested on

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<sup>1</sup> Brahmagupta, *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares 1902, 22.53-54. See also Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, ‘Astronomical Instruments in Brahmagupta’s *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*’, *Indian Historical Review* 13.1986-87: 163-176, and ‘Perpetual Motion Machines and their Design in Ancient India’, *Physis. Rivista Internazionale di Storia della Scienza* 29,3.1992: 665-676.

<sup>2</sup> Bhoja, *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, ed. T. Ganapatisastri, rev. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala, Baroda 1966 (Gaekwad’s Oriental Series 25), 31.95-100. See also V. Raghavan, *Yantras or Mechanical Contrivances in Ancient India*, Bangalore <sup>2</sup>1956 (The Indian Institute of Culture, Transaction 10), pp.24;29.

<sup>3</sup> Mādhavācārya, *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha*, ed. Uma Shankar Sharma, Varanasi <sup>2</sup>1978, pp.375-390.

the metal and then applied to the body.’<sup>4</sup>

Thus the *Rasa-vāda* attempts to syncretise gold-making and immortalising the physical body, by postulating that the transmutation of base metals (*loha-vedha*) into gold through the aid of mercury is just the first step towards the transformation of the physical body (*deha-vedha*) into an undecaying entity. The expression *vedha* (from √*vidh* ‘pierce’) in this context means transmutation or transformation. The successful accomplishment of such transmutation through the aid of mercury (*rasa*) is *rasa-siddhi*, and those who have achieved this miracle are *rasa-siddhas*.

1.3. In one of his epigrams, Bhartṛhari employs this notion at two levels of meaning.

*jayanti te sukṛtino rāsasiddhāḥ kavīśvarāḥ*  
*nāsti yeṣāṃ yaśaḥkāye jarāmarañajanmabhīḥ.*<sup>5</sup>

At one level, there are alchemists, who prepare benign mercury compounds (*sukṛtinaḥ*) and by the application of these immortalise their bodies (*rasa-siddha*), and these bodies do not suffer old age or death. At another level, there are master poets, who compose excellent poems (*sukṛtinaḥ*) permeated with aesthetic pleasure (*rasa-siddha*), and who become immortal because the body of their fame suffers neither old age nor death.

1.4. It is difficult to say when and how this belief in the efficacy of mercury originated.<sup>6</sup> None of the extant texts on *Rasaśāstra*, where this belief is propagated, is earlier than the eleventh or twelfth centuries. But the belief and its practical application are certainly older by several centuries.<sup>7</sup> From Bhartṛhari’s verse just cited, it is obvious that in his

<sup>4</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, p. 383: *na ca rasaśāstraṃ dhātuvādārtham eveti mantavyam. dehavedhadvārā mukter eva paramaprayojanāt. tad uktam ca rasāṃhave: ... yathā lohe tathā dehe kartavyaḥ sūtakāḥ sadā samānaṃ kurute devi pratyayaṃ dehalohayoḥ pūrvam lohe parīkṣeta paścād dehe prayojayet.*

<sup>5</sup> D.D. Kosambi (ed), *The Epigrams Attributed to Bhartṛhari*, Bombay 1948 (Singhi Jain Series 23), p.23, no.55.

<sup>6</sup> For a brief history of this system of medicine, see D.M. Bose *et al.* (ed.), *A Concise History of Science in India*, New Delhi 1971, pp.232f;313-338.

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Raseśvarasiddhānta*, cited by Mādhava, *op.cit.*, pp.379f., gods like Maheśa, demons like Śukra, sages like Vālakhilya, kings like Someśvara, and [other men like] Govindabhagavatpādācārya, Govindanāyaka, Carvaṭi, Kapila, Vyāli, Kāpāli, Kandalāyana and several others had infused their bodies with mercury and attained libe-



times the belief in the immortalising power of mercury was quite widespread, but it is uncertain when this poet lived.

1.5. In Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, composed in the first half of the seventh century, there is a long list of the followers of different religious or philosophical systems. Among these are mentioned *kārandhamins*, i.e. people who practise *Dhātu-vāda*.<sup>8</sup> In his other work *Kādambarī*,<sup>9</sup> Bāṇa makes a more explicit reference to this system of belief. Here, in a rare pen-portrait, Bāṇa pokes fun at an old South Indian pious fraud (*jarad-draviḍa-dhārmika*<sup>10</sup>), who tries, in a bumbling way, all kinds of religious observances and magical practices in order to attain the unattainable but fails miserably in each endeavour. In his wretched ignorance, he concocts a mercury compound, but not quite in the proper manner, and this causes in him a deadly fever instead of immortality (*asamyak-kṛta-rasāyanānīta-kālajvareṇa*). The fact that the application of mercury for attaining immortality has become part of the poetic vocabulary in the first half of the seventh century (and much earlier if we place Bhartṛhari in the fifth) shows that by then *Rasa-vāda* must have been quite well known to a larger circle of people.<sup>11</sup>

2.1. Even so, the belief in the efficacy of mercury needed a mythological justification and there grew the myth concerning the cosmic origin of mercury. This substance with its ambiguous liquid-solid state was associated with Śiva, the ascetic and the eroticist, the destroyer and the progenitor. Mercury, it is said, is Śiva's seed which he discharged

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ration while still alive. It is not quite clear why gods like Maheśa needed the application of mercury (it is after all his own seed). But it should be interesting to identify the kings and other historical figures mentioned here. Some of these, like Govindabhagavatpādācārya, Carvaṭi/Carpaṭi, Kāpāli and Vyāli/Vyāḍi, are the authors of alchemical texts. Cf. Prafulla Chandra Ray, *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India*, Calcutta 1956, pp.127f.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Śūranāḍ Kuñjan Pillai, Trivandrum 1958 (University of Kerala Sanskrit Series 187), p.379. In the commentary *Marmāvabodhinī*, to be found in the same edition, the commentator Raṅganātha explains the word as *kārandhamibhir dhātuvādibhiḥ*. See also Puruṣottamadeva's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* 3.235cd: *dhātuvādarate kāṣṣyakāre kārandhamī*.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. M.R. Kale, Delhi 1968, pp.337-340, esp. p.338.

<sup>10</sup> Though the word *dhārmika* literally means a religious person who follows *dharma*, there is an undercurrent of irony in Bāṇa's use of the term here.

<sup>11</sup> The attribute *draviḍa* seems to indicate that, in Bāṇa's time, this system of medicine was more prevalent in Southern India, perhaps at Śrīparvata.



into Agni's mouth when the latter disturbed Śiva's union with Pārvatī. Thus the myth of the origin of mercury was appended to a much older myth of the birth of Kumāra-Kārttikeya.

2.2. The original myth, as is well known, occurs first in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. This text narrates the cosmic union between the primeval couple Śiva and Pārvatī. The union was to produce Kumāra, who would lead the army of the Devas against the Asuras. But the coitus continued for ages and the impatient Devas sent Agni to disturb the amorous couple. The reluctant Agni went there disguised as a pigeon but Śiva recognised him and terminated the coitus. However, he could not withhold the seed in himself and discharged it into Agni's mouth. The seed possessed such awesome refulgence that none could bear it for long. Agni dropped it into the River Gaṅgā, the latter deposited it in a clump of reeds, and finally Kārttikeya arose from this terrible seed.<sup>12</sup>

2.3. But already in this version, the myth of the birth of Kumāra is contaminated with another concerning the origin of metals. The *Rāmāyaṇa* goes on to say that, on contact with the earth, this seed also produced gold (*kāñcana*), silver (*hiranya*<sup>13</sup>), copper (*tāmra*), iron (*kārṣṇāyasa*), tin (*trapu*), lead (*sīsaka*) and all kinds of minerals (*dhātu*).<sup>14</sup>

3.1. It may be noted that mercury is not mentioned in this earliest version of the myth of the origin of metals. At a later period when Rasaśāstra took shape, the cosmogonic myth was modified to include

<sup>12</sup> Critical edition, *Bālakāṇḍa*, ed. G.K. Bhat, Baroda 1960, 1.35-36. The *Mahābhārata* also narrates almost the same version, but the context is the efficacy of the gift of gold. Cf. the critical edition, *Anuśāsanaparvan*, ed. R.N. Dandekar, Poona 1966, 13.83.52-85.58.

<sup>13</sup> On this ancient name for silver see e.g. Wilhelm Rau, *Metalle und Metallgeräte im vedischen Indien*, Mainz/Wiesbaden 1974 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1973,8) pp.18f., J. Gonda, *The Functions and Significance of Gold in the Veda*, Leiden etc. 1991 (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina 37), pp.63ff., and Harry Falk, 'Silver, Lead and Zinc in Early Indian Literature', *South Asian Studies* 7.1991: 111-117 (see p.111).

<sup>14</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.36.18-20:

yad asyā nirgataṃ tasmāt taptajāmbūnadaprabham  
kāñcanaṃ dharanīm prāptaṃ hiranyam amalāṃ śubham.  
tāmraṃ kārṣṇāyasam caiva taikṣṇyād evābhijāyata  
malam tasyābhavat tatra trapu sīsakam eva ca.  
tad etad dharanīm prāpya nānā dhātur avardhata.

mercury. According to this new version, after Kārttikeya was born from Śiva's semen, some part of this still remained.<sup>15</sup> This residual semen became mercury.<sup>16</sup> It split into four (or five) parts and entered the earth at four (or five) different places, boring holes each one hundred yojanas long. These are known as the mercury wells (*rasa-kūpa*).<sup>17</sup>

3.2. Since mercury resulted from the union of the primeval couple Śiva and Pārvatī, they were made the presiding deities of the *Rasaśāstra*, but usually under the names Hara and Gaurī. Hara teaches *Rasaśāstra* to Gaurī and in this process narrates the origin of mercury to her.

3.3. The myth of the origin of mercury from Śiva's seed was probably narrated for the first time in Govindabhagavatpāda's *Rasahrdaya* in the eleventh century. This was followed by the *Rasāṃḥava* in the twelfth,<sup>18</sup> and by several other texts in the succeeding centuries. The *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of Pseudo-Vāgbhaṭa, for example, relates the story as follows:<sup>19</sup>

‘On this mountain [Himālaya], there took place the union between Śiva and Pārvatī, when out of love each one wanted to vanquish the other [in sexual combat], and this awesome intercourse caused disturbances in all the three worlds.

‘The gods, wishing that a son be born to Śiva and Pārvatī to destroy the demon Tāraka, sent Agni to interrupt their union.

‘Assuming the form of a pigeon,<sup>20</sup> Agni entered the cave in

<sup>15</sup> Or, as the somewhat later text *Ānandakanda* avers, Śiva's seed divided itself into two equal parts. One half generated Skanda and the other became mercury and entered the earth at five different places. Cf. *Ānandakanda*, Vol.I: Sanskrit text, Tanjore 1952 (Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series 15; Madras Government Oriental Series 59), 1.1.14-15.

<sup>16</sup> That is why, except *rasa* and *pārada*, nearly all other Sanskrit terms denoting mercury literally mean Śiva's seed or semen.

<sup>17</sup> Note that the seed seeks to enter a female body and that the earth is a female. Note also that both the earth and the female may be called *kṣetra*.

<sup>18</sup> On the *Rasāṃḥava*, see especially David Gordon White, ‘Why Gurus are Heavy’, *Numen. International Review for the History of Religions* 31, 1.1984: 40-73.

<sup>19</sup> Vāgbhaṭa, *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, ed. Jivarāma Kālidāsa Vaidyarāja, Bombay V.S. 1965, 1.1.61-68.

<sup>20</sup> Traditionally, cooing pigeons outside the bedroom are supposed to be erotically stimulating. Cf. Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa*, ed. G.K. Shrigondekar, Vol. II, Baroda 1939



the Himālaya and watched their intercourse, in a manner that was not quite bird-like.

‘Śiva recognised that this was not a bird but Agni. Ashamed of being watched by Agni, he withdrew from the union but his seed (*caramo dhātuḥ*<sup>21</sup>) was ejaculated. Gathering it into his hand, Śiva threw the seed into Agni’s mouth, but it fell into the River Gaṅgā. Scorched by it, the river deposited the seed outside [in a clump of reeds].

‘From its impurities (*malādhāna*), there arose minerals (*dhātu*) that can grant superhuman abilities (*siddhi*).

‘When [some drops of] the semen fell on the earth from Agni’s mouth, then five<sup>22</sup> wells sprang up all around. Each of these was one hundred yojanas deep. Since then the semen that lay in these five wells has become five-fold [mercury].

‘Thus this semen of Śambhu became five-fold: *rasa*, *rasendra*, *sūta*, *pārada*, and *miśraka*, each differing from the other on account of its location (*kṣetra*).’

4.1. The story does not end here. Some texts extend it further and state that this active male principle of Śiva does not lie dormant in the earth’s womb but is constantly on the look-out for a human womb for fructification. Therefore, if a young maiden<sup>23</sup> peeps into a mercury well — having taken the purificatory bath after her first menses and thus in the right physical state for receiving the male seed for conception — the mercury swells up from the well and attempts to enter her womb. But since no woman can bear this terrible seed of Śiva, she must flee from the well astride a swift horse. The mercury comes out of the well and pursues her for one yojana and then, its force spent, withdraws into the well.

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(Gaekwad’s Oriental Series 84), p.264 (= 4.11.1296f.):

*ratikāle pi te dhāryā rāgavardhanahetave  
galaghūrṇitanādena harṣam utpādayanti hi.*

<sup>21</sup> According to Indian medical theory, semen is the last (here: *carama*) of the seven basic elements (*dhātu*) of the body derived from food.

<sup>22</sup> The number of mercury wells varies from text to text: one, four, or five.

<sup>23</sup> All the texts stress that she must be a virgin (*kumārī*, *kumārikā*). See the Appendix.



4.2. On this backward journey the mercury is very weak. Hence, if there are small pits or depressions in the ground around the well, the mercury that has fallen into them cannot rise up and go back into the well. Such mercury can be collected by human beings and consumed after proper treatment.<sup>24</sup> The implication is that one can easily collect mercury by digging pits around the mercury well and by causing the mercury to rise and fall into these pits, with the bait of a young woman. One must, of course, first find these mythical wells.

4.3. This curious lore of extracting mercury is narrated in the following texts, which were composed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries: (i) *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* of Somadeva, (ii) *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of Pseudo-Vāgbhaṭa, (iii) *Rasaprakāśasudhākara* of Yaśodhara, and (iv) *Dhātūtpatti* of Ṭhakkura Pherū. Again, the *Śivatattvaratnākara* repeats it in the eighteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

5. Interestingly enough, this motif of mercury issuing forth from a well at the sight of a pretty young maiden attracted the attention of Mughal painters in the eighteenth century. It is depicted in at least four Mughal miniature paintings which have not received scholarly attention so far.

5.1. One of these miniatures (Fig.1) belongs to the Maharaja Sawai Mansingh II Museum and Library, City Palace, Jaipur.<sup>26</sup> The painting shows, in the right foreground, a well with a low stone wall around it. From this well, the mercury is coming out like a white cloud and is chasing a young lady on horseback who occupies the left foreground. The fleeing beauty, however, is looking backwards at the mercury and beckoning it with an outstretched hand to follow her. At the top left,

<sup>24</sup> There are said to be eighteen such treatments or *saṃskāras*, which are enumerated in the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p.382:

*svedana-mardana-mūrchanā-sthāpana-pātana-nirodha-niyamāś ca*  
*dīpana-gamana-grāsapramāṇam atha jāraṇa-pidhānam.*  
*garbhadruti-bāhyadruti-kṣāraṇa-saṃrāga-sāraṇāś caiva*  
*krāmaṇa-vedhau bhakṣaṇam aṣṭādaśadheti rasakarma.*

On these *saṃskāras*, cf. Damodar Joshi, 'Mercury in Indian Medicine', *Studies in History of Medicine* 3.1979: 234-297.

<sup>25</sup> The relevant passages are given in the Appendix.

<sup>26</sup> The painting is on display. Recognising its theme, the second author of this paper, Mr. Yaduendra Sahai, the Director of the Museum, renamed it the 'Mercury Well'.





Figure 1

three persons are waiting behind some shrubs with wooden or metal pitchers in their hands to collect the mercury. The artist has attempted to mythicise the personae. The young lady on horseback, whom the mercury is chasing, is depicted with a halo around her head, indicating that she is a royal princess or even a divine being. The three men waiting to collect the mercury are, for some curious reason, dressed in European cloaks and hats.<sup>27</sup> In the background, there is a highly interesting composition of hillocks, lakes and buildings, with neatly drawn flora and fauna. To judge from the style of composition and the technique of receding background, this painting clearly belongs to the late Mughal school of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>27</sup> Mughal painters occasionally depicted European or Christian themes but in the present case there is no direct connection with Europeans.



5.2. The second painting (Fig.2) was formerly at the Louvre and is now with the Musée Guimet, Paris. In composition, this one appears to be a mirror image of the previous painting. Here the well is in the left foreground; the mercury is issuing out from it like two white clouds or clumps. The larger cloud is chasing the girl while the smaller one seems to represent the mercury that has fallen into the pit and cannot go back to the well. Here also the lady on horseback is looking backwards at the mercury as if she were inviting it to catch up with her. She occupies the centre of the painting which is filled with a desolate landscape, bordered by impressionistic outlines of shrubbery and architectural elements. Towards the right, in a kind of depression, there are some faintly drawn human figures, obviously waiting to collect the mercury. Perhaps the rough landscape in this monochrome painting more truly represents the elemental forces that are at play.

In his catalogue of the Mughal miniatures at the Louvre, Ivan Stchoukine describes the painting thus: 'Mercury, according to an Indian belief, is not insensitive to beauty. It is enough that a pretty woman passes by its resting place on her steed in a gallop for the metal to come out of the earth and chase her. The painting places the legend in the ambience of a nocturnal landscape, executed by means of an India-ink drawing under a strong European influence. The woman and the horse, however, are painted according to the rules of Indian tradition.' Stchoukine assigns the painting to the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

At the back of this painting, there is a cryptic inscription in Persian: *kār-i ustād-i qādim sīmāb kih az ġā mī-ravad xūb savār*, which may be rendered as follows: 'The work of an old master[.] Quicksilver (i.e. mercury, lit.: silver water) which moves from its place [attracted by] a fair horse-rider.'

Mario Bussagli published this painting, perhaps for the first time, in his work on Indian miniatures, but he misunderstood its theme. He introduced the painting with this remark: 'Mythological scene concerning the personification of the planet Mercury. Provincial Mogul art, second half of the 18th century. Musée Guimet, Paris. The composition is rather exceptional for the provincial Mogul school of miniature painting. The isolated figure in the vast landscape corresponds to a spiritual atti-

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<sup>28</sup> Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Miniatures indiennes de l'époque des grands Moghols au Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1929, pp.76f. (no. 120).



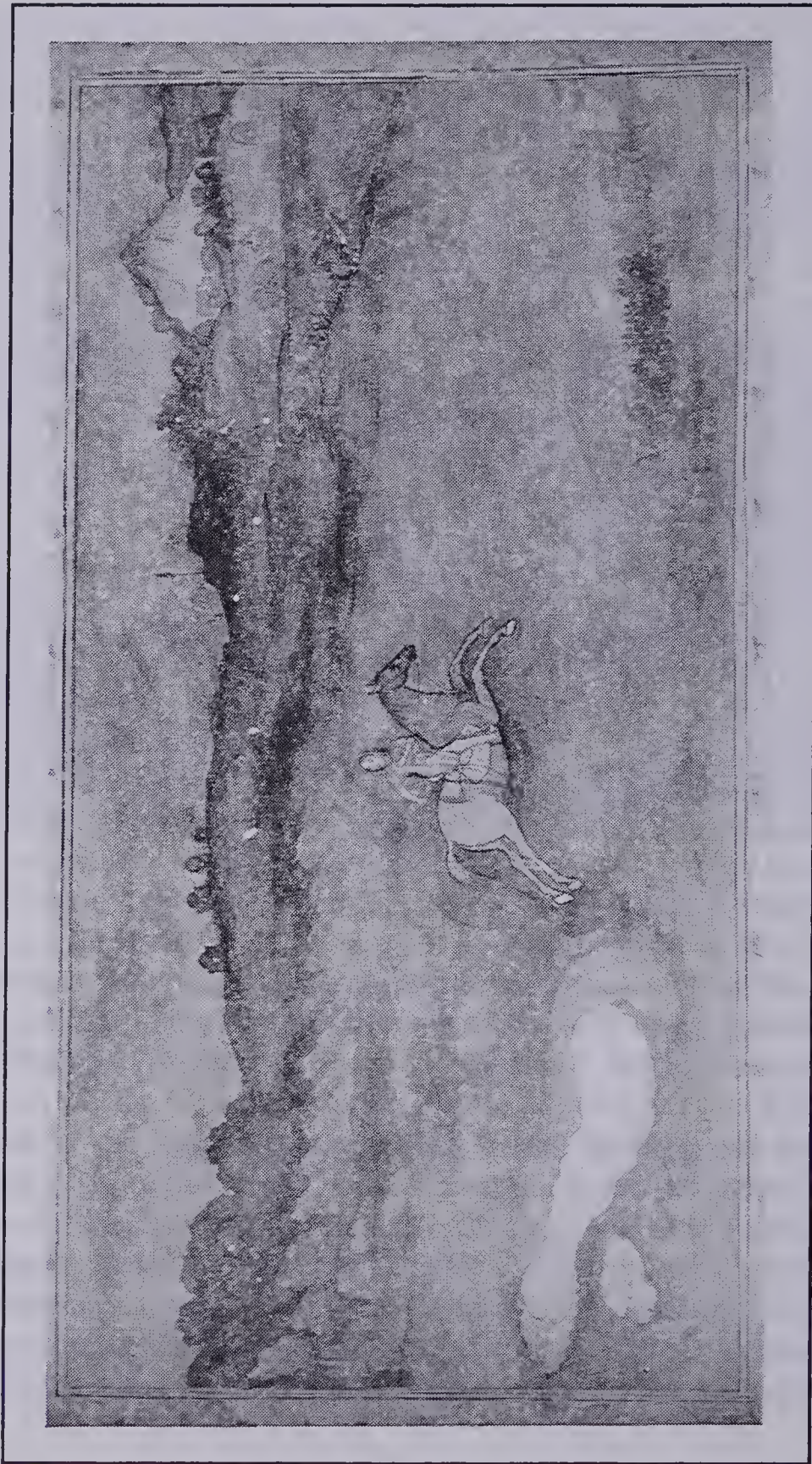


Figure 2



tude alien to Indian thought.<sup>29</sup>

Now the painting does indeed depict mercury, but it is the element and not the planet. The verbal identity between the element mercury and the planet Mercury is possible in European languages, but not in Hindu or Muslim conceptions. In the light of the foregoing discussion, there cannot be any doubt that this painting, like the one at Jaipur, depicts the curious lore narrated in the texts of *Rasaśāstra*, of the element mercury rushing out of the well in order to impregnate the fleeing maiden. The identity postulated in the myth and in the paintings is between the element mercury and Śiva's creative energy, but not between the element and the planet, which is impossible on linguistic grounds. There is, of course, also no question of a personification of mercury here, whether of the planet or of the element.<sup>30</sup>

5.3. A third painting (Fig.3) on this theme was formerly in the collection of Dr. Alice Boner. Its current location is not known. However, a reproduction is available in the archives of the Musée Guimet, Paris. Here the woman horse-rider occupies nearly the entire surface of the painting. Mounted on a white charger, she is looking back at the mercury which appears as a white patch on the left foreground.

5.4. Ivan Stchoukine mentions yet another painting on this theme at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Douce, Or.a,2, fol.12). Apparently it has a longer inscription which describes the theme more explicitly, but it has not been possible for us to view this painting.

5.5. These paintings show that the amusing lore of extracting mercury was quite widely known outside the sphere of the practitioners of

<sup>29</sup> Mario Bussagli, *Indian Miniatures*, translated by Raymond Rudorff from the Italian original *La Miniatura Indiana*, New Delhi etc. 1976, painting no. 64, pp.136f.

<sup>30</sup> Bussagli's misinterpretation is perpetuated by Dalu Jones who published this painting once again in her article 'Patronage under the Medici and the Mughals: Cultural Parallels and Artistic Exchanges' in a volume edited by her with the title *A Mirror of Princes. The Mughals and the Medici*, Bombay 1987. The painting has not been specifically discussed either in the above-mentioned paper or elsewhere in the volume. In the paper itself, Jones argues, *inter alia*, that the Mughal paintings on allegorical themes were inspired by European models. To illustrate this point, she reproduces on pp.12f. three Mughal paintings, which she considers allegorical in character and thus of European inspiration. One of the three is the painting under discussion with the following caption (obviously borrowed from Bussagli): 'Mythological scene referring to the personification of the planet Mercury; Mughal, 18th century; Paris, Musée Guimet.'





Figure 3



*rasa-cikitsā*. This lore, it may be recalled, is an extension of the myth of the origin of mercury from the cosmic union between Parvatī and Śiva, and this myth formed part of the credo of many heterodox Tantric cults. Stylistically these miniature paintings are attributable to a late phase of the Mughal school of the eighteenth century. Beyond that, we do not know where they were painted, nor in what context. There is, however, no doubt that the artists saw the dramatic possibilities in the motif of tempting the subterranean mercury with the bait of a fair horse-rider, and executed it each in his individual manner.<sup>31</sup>

### Appendix

1. *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* of Somadeva,<sup>32</sup> 15.13:

*snātām ādyarajasvalām hayagatām prāptām jighṛkṣuś ca tām  
so 'py āgacchati yojanam hi paritaḥ pratyeti kūpaṁ punaḥ  
tanmārge kṛtagartake ca bahuśaḥ santiṣṭhate sūtarāt  
so 'yaṁ tatra nivāsibhiḥ khalu janair evaṁ samānīyate.*

2. *Rasaratnasamuccaya* of Vāgbhaṭa,<sup>33</sup> 1.1.87-89 (pp.8f.):

*prathame rajasi snātām hayārūḍhām svalaṅkṛtām  
vikṣamāṇām vadhūṁ dṛṣtvā jighṛkṣuḥ kūpago<sup>34</sup> rasaḥ.  
udgacchati javāt sāpi taṁ dṛṣtvā yāti vegataḥ  
anugacchati tām sūtaḥ sīmānam yojanonmitam.  
pratyāyāti tataḥ kūpaṁ vegataḥ śivasambhavaḥ  
mārganirmitagarteṣu sthitam grhṇanti pāradam.*

<sup>31</sup> The authors have pleasure in acknowledging the help and advice received from many scholars. Dr. Arion Roşu (Versailles) and Dr. Mira Roy (Calcutta) provided some of the passages cited in the Appendix. Dr. Roşu also went through the whole paper meticulously and made a number of valuable suggestions. Prof. Ahsan Jan Qaisar (Aligarh) drew our attention to the second miniature discussed here. Prof. Nalini Balbir (Paris) helped in obtaining a reproduction of it. Prof. Irfan Habib (Aligarh) translated the Persian inscription on the same painting. Madame Amina Okada, Conservateur au Musée national des arts asiatiques — Guimet, Paris, generously offered advice and material on the last three paintings discussed in this paper. Finally, we are beholden to Prof. Rahul Peter Das, for his infinite patience with the slow progress of this paper and for many helpful suggestions.

<sup>32</sup> Ed. Siddhinandana Mishra, Varanasi/Delhi 1984.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. note 19.

<sup>34</sup> Printed *kūpako*.



3. *Rasaprakāśasudhākara* of Yaśodhara,<sup>35</sup> 1.13-16:

*himālayāt paścimadigvibhāge girīndranāmā ruciro 'sti śailaḥ  
tatsannidhāne 'tisuvṛttakūpe sākṣād rasendro nivasaty ayam hi.  
kumārikā rūpaguṇena yuktā svalaṅkṛtā vāhavare 'dhirūdhā  
tatrāgatā kūpam avekṣamāṇā nivartitā sā mahatā javena.  
pradhāvitah sūtavaraś caturṣu kakupsu bhūmau patito hi nūnam.*

4. *Dhātūtpatti* of Ṭhakkura Pherū,<sup>36</sup> 17-19 (pp.40f.):

*rasakūva bhaṇamtege taruṇatthī tattha karivi siṃgāraṃ  
turayārūḍhaṃ<sup>37</sup> jhakkivi aputṭhapayarehiṃ nassei.  
kūvāo tassa kae pāraṃ ucchalavi dhāvae pacchā  
bāhudaī dahamakāo puṇovi nivadei tatthe va.  
jaṃ rahaī niyaṭṭhāṇe katthava kattheva khaḍḍakhaḍḍiṃ  
tatthāu gahaī sā tiya uppattī pārayassa imaṃ.*

5. *Śivatattvaratnākara* of Keḷadi Basava,<sup>38</sup> 6.33.45-50 (Vol. II, p.169):

*prathamārtavasusnātā surūpā śubhalakṣaṇā  
śuddhāmbaṛadharā mālyagandhaliptā subhūṣitā.  
uttamāśvasamārūdhā patisaṅgavivarjitā  
abhyarcya gaṇanāthaṃ ca rasendram ca guruṃ tathā.  
rasendram īśvaram dhyātvā kūpasya pāradam tathā  
paśyec chīghraṃ tato gacchet punaḥ pṛṣṭhaṃ na vīkṣayet.  
ekayojanamātreṇa kumārī hayasāadhanā  
tadānīm hararetaḥ tu kumārīsaṅjighṛkṣayā.  
kūpamadhyāt samutpatya so 'nudhāvati tām prati  
yāvad yojanam āgatya punaḥ kūpaṃ viśet kṣaṇāt.  
paritaḥ kṛtagarteṣu teṣu teṣu ca saṃsthitam<sup>39</sup>  
taṃ rasendram śucir bhūtvā grhṇīyād rasadeśikah.*

<sup>35</sup> Ed. Siddhinandana Mishra, Varanasi/Delhi 1983.

<sup>36</sup> Ṭhakkura Pherū, *Ratnaparīkṣādi-sapta-grantha-saṃgraha*, ed. Agar Chand Nahata and Bhanwar Lal Nahata, Jodhpur 1961. See also Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, *Ṭhakkura Pherū's Rayanaparikkhā*, Aligarh 1984, pp.10f.

<sup>37</sup> Printed *turiyārūḍhaṃ*.

<sup>38</sup> Ed. R. Rama Shastry, Vol. II, Mysore 1969 (Oriental Research Institute, Publication 112). In a note on p.163, the editor states that this passage is extracted from the *Rasasiddhāntaśāśana*.

<sup>39</sup> Printed *saṃsthitim*.

# Kokkokas *Ratirahasya* übersetzt und erläutert (II)\*

KLAUS MYLIUS

## V. Der Abschnitt über die Kenntnis von den Landesteilen<sup>102</sup>

1. Im Allgemeinen erlangen die Männer Befriedigung als Aufhören des Wollustgefühls *vor* den Frauen. Indem man dies erkannt hat, behandle man die Frauen so, daß sie schon zu Beginn des Verkehrs feucht sind.<sup>103</sup>
2. Wenn sie immer wieder mit äußerer Liebe<sup>104</sup> umworben wurden, nachdem man Ort<sup>105</sup>, Zeit und Typ erkannt hat, entspannen sich die jungen Frauen, werden hochgradig verliebt, werden feucht und schnell befriedigt.
3. Wer so vorgeht, daß er seine Gedanken auf das Meer, den Wald, eine Schlucht, einen Felsen, eine Zufluchtsstätte richtet,<sup>106</sup> dabei sacht beginnt und stets beständig bleibt<sup>107</sup> — ein solcher Mann erfreut sich, auch wenn er erregt ist, lange am Beischlaf.
4. Bei einem Mann, der an einen überaus beweglichen Affen, welcher über die Äste eines Baumes eilt, denkt, wird niemals der Samen

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\* Fortsetzung aus *JEĀS* 3.1993, S.145-173.

<sup>102</sup> Gemeint sind die in den einzelnen Provinzen des indischen Subkontinents dominierenden Frauentypen und Liebesbräuche. Schon Vātsyāyana hatte den hierbei zutage tretenden Unterschieden große Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt (*Kāmasūtra* II,5,20-33 u.a.). — Dem Inhalt nach gehören *Ratirahasya* V,1-8 allerdings noch zum Abschnitt IV.

<sup>103</sup> Die Substanz dieses Lehrsatzes ist im Abendland erst 1927 von T.H. van de Velde (*Die vollkommene Ehe. Eine Studie über ihre Physiologie und Technik*. Leipzig/Stuttgart <sup>13</sup>1927) der Allgemeinheit dargelegt worden. Daß sie allenthalben in die Praxis Eingang gefunden hätte, wird man aber selbst für die Gegenwart schwerlich behaupten können; auch in Indien sind Praxis und Theorie nicht notwendigerweise im Einklang.

<sup>104</sup> Also nicht mit platonischen Gesprächen, sondern mit Küssen, Petting usw.

<sup>105</sup> Es bleibt offen, ob eine für die Liebe geeignete Örtlichkeit oder die provinzielle Eigenart der Frau gemeint ist.

<sup>106</sup> Bekanntlich wird eine Ablenkung der Gedanken zur Vermeidung einer *ejaculatio praecox* auch heute noch empfohlen und verspricht sehr wohl Erfolg.

<sup>107</sup> Er darf also nicht der Verlockung folgen und seine Bewegungen beschleunigen.



träufeln, selbst wenn er schon bis in die Eichel vorgedrungen ist.<sup>108</sup>

5. Eine Liebe, die aus einer Verbindung mit der wiederholten Beschäftigung mit der Jagd, mit handwerklichen Künsten, mit dem Tanz oder mit Gebieten wie dem Lautenspiel entsteht, eine solche bezeichnen die Weisen als 'Beschäftigungsliebe'.
6. Ist die Liebe weder aus einer Beschäftigung noch aus einem ähnlichen Gebiet hervorgegangen, sondern einzig aus dem eigenen Entschluß, dann ist sie aus Zuneigung entstanden, etwa zwischen Eunuch und Frau,<sup>109</sup> oder wie bei den hier gelehrteten Umarmungen, Küssen usw. von Mann und Frau.
7. Eine Liebe, die irgendwo aus der Ähnlichkeit mit einem anderen entsteht,<sup>110</sup> diese bezeichnen die Verständigen als aus dem Vertrauen entstanden. Indem sie aus den hauptsächlichlichen Sinnesgebieten hervorgegangen ist, nennt man sie sinnliche Liebe.
8. Das, was als Eigenart des Wesens geschildert wurde, was als Wesenstyp, Altersstufe usw. als Besonderheit gilt, was als klare provinzielle Eigenart zu besprechen sein wird: Nachdem man dies in Rechnung gestellt hat, mache man sich an ein Mädchen heran.<sup>111</sup>
9. Einen lautereren Wandel unter Abneigung gegen Nagel- und Zahnspuren sowie gegen Küsse führen die in Madhyadeśa<sup>112</sup> geborenen Frauen. Von derselben Art sind die aus Avanti<sup>113</sup> und Bāhlika<sup>114</sup> Stammenden; sie lieben die Citrarata-Stellung.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Ohne Gewähr!

<sup>109</sup> Hierbei kann es sich nur um den Cunnilingus handeln.

<sup>110</sup> Offensichtlich ist die Ähnlichkeit mit einem bzw. einer früher Geliebten gemeint.

<sup>111</sup> Ist gemeint: 'Das stelle man in Rechnung, wenn man sich an ein Mädchen heranmacht'? Oder ist die Aussage stringenter aufzufassen?

<sup>112</sup> 'Mittelland, Zentralregion', nämlich das zentrale Nordindien zwischen Himālaya und dem Vindhya-Gebirge, ungefähr dem Westteil des heutigen indischen Unionsstaates Uttar Pradesh entsprechend.

<sup>113</sup> Name eines alten Reiches nordöstlich des heutigen Bombay mit der Hauptstadt Ujjayinī.

<sup>114</sup> Name eines im äußersten Nordwesten siedelnden Volkes, dessen Wohnsitze sich vom Norden des heutigen Pakistan bis nach Afghanistan erstreckten.

10. Die aus Ābhīra<sup>116</sup> gebürtige Frau begehrt Umarmungen, lehnt die Tätigkeit der Nägel und Zähne ab, ergötzt sich aber an Schlägen. Durch Küsse ist ihr Gemüt zu gewinnen. Die Frau aus Mālava<sup>117</sup> verhält sich ganz genauso.
11. Die am Ufer der Irāvati<sup>118</sup>, des Indus und der Śatadru<sup>119</sup>, zwischen den Flüssen Vipāś<sup>120</sup> und Vitastā<sup>121</sup> und am Ufer der Candrabhāgā<sup>122</sup> geborenen Frauen sind ohne Mundverkehr<sup>123</sup> nicht zu erlangen.
12. Die Frau aus Gujerat trägt bauschige Haarflechten,<sup>124</sup> hat einen schlanken Körper, üppige Brüste und einen freundlichen Blick. Ihre Rede ist lieblich, und sie ist sowohl dem inneren als auch dem äußeren Liebesgenuß zugeneigt, kann aber auch abweisend<sup>125</sup> sein.
13. Die Frau aus Lāṭa<sup>126</sup> wird durch langsame Schläge sowie durch die Betätigung von Nägeln und Zähnen sehr feucht und verlangt nach Umarmungen. Sie ist von ungestümer Leidenschaft, hat einen zarten Körper und wirft sich beim Fest der Wollust hin und her.
14. Die Andhra-Frau übertritt das Kennzeichen guten Wandels: Sie hat Freude an unmöglichem Betragen<sup>127</sup> und ist versessen auf Wol-

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<sup>115</sup> Hierbei steht einer der Partner gegen eine Säule oder eine Wand gelehnt; ausführliche Beschreibung in X,33-36.

<sup>116</sup> Name eines Gebietes im südlichen Gujerat nahe der Mündung der Narbada.

<sup>117</sup> Name eines Gebietes im Flußbereich des Chenab im West-Panjab (heute Pakistan).

<sup>118</sup> Die heutige Ravi im Panjab.

<sup>119</sup> Der heutige Sutlej im Panjab.

<sup>120</sup> Der heutige Panjab-Fluß Bias.

<sup>121</sup> Der heutige Fluß Jhilam im Panjab.

<sup>122</sup> Der heutige Panjab-Fluß Chenab.

<sup>123</sup> Im Kommentar ist offensichtlich *bhagacūṣaṇa-* statt *bhagabhūṣaṇa-* zu lesen; d.h. gemeint ist der Cunnilingus.

<sup>124</sup> Der Text ist hier nicht einwandfrei überliefert.

<sup>125</sup> Der Text ist mehrfach mißdeutet worden; *viraktā* ist aber weder eine Textverderbnis noch bedeutet es 'leidenschaftlich'.

<sup>126</sup> Name eines alten Reiches, etwa im Südteil des heutigen Gujerat gelegen.

<sup>127</sup> Im Sanskrit *anācāra-*, wörtl.: 'Nicht-Betragen'.



- lust. Sie richtet ihren Sinn auf die Spiele der Stutenstellung<sup>128</sup> und bewahrt sich noch als Matrone ihre Zartheit.
15. Die aus Strīrājya<sup>129</sup> und Kośala<sup>130</sup> gebürtigen Frauen werden feucht, wenn sie von einem künstlichen Penis gerieben werden. Von kräftigen Schlägen sind sie entzückt. Sie haben eine überaus heftig juckende Scheide.
  16. Die in Mahārāṣṭra geborenen Frauen führen aggressive, ordinäre Reden und sind schamlos. In der Liebe sind sie den vierundsechzig Künsten<sup>131</sup> zugetan. Ebenso sind die Frauen von Pāṭaliputra<sup>132</sup>, die sich damit jedoch im Verborgenen halten.
  17. Die Draviḍa<sup>133</sup>-Frauen werden allmählich feucht, wenn sie durch äußerliche Liebesbezeugungen<sup>134</sup> innerlich und äußerlich wiederholt erregt werden. Sie sind reich an Scheidenfeuchtigkeit und erlangen das Wollustgefühl schon beim ersten Liebesakt.
  18. Die Frauen aus dem Vanavāsa<sup>135</sup>-Land verhüllen die Mängel des eigenen Körpers, während sie über die Mängel anderer vielfach lachen. Sie ertragen alles,<sup>136</sup> lieben aber selbst nur mit mittelmäßiger Leidenschaft.
  19. Die Frau aus Gauḍa<sup>137</sup> und Vaṅga<sup>138</sup> ist zartgliedrig, hat einen

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<sup>128</sup> Eine Stellung, bei der die Frau auf dem Rücken liegt; vgl. X,20.

<sup>129</sup> Etwa 'Amazonenreich', Name eines dem heutigen Kumaon im Himālaya entsprechenden Reiches.

<sup>130</sup> Ältestes indisches Großreich, lag nordöstlich vom mittleren Ganges (auch Kosala).

<sup>131</sup> Diese werden in *Kāmasūtra* I,3,15 aufgezählt.

<sup>132</sup> Name der Hauptstadt des Magadha-Reiches, eines der ältesten indischen Großreiche, im jetzigen Unionsstaat Bihar; heute Patna.

<sup>133</sup> Man beachte, daß die in 14 erwähnten dravidischen Andhras nicht mit dieser allgemeinen Bezeichnung für die Bewohner des südlichen, z.T. auch des zentralen Indiens bedacht werden.

<sup>134</sup> Vorwiegend also wohl durch Küsse und Petting.

<sup>135</sup> Name eines alten Reiches östlich der Konkan-Küste bis zur Tuṅgabhadrā, das also große Teile der Waldgebirge in den West-Ghats umfaßte.

<sup>136</sup> Nämlich durch Leidenschaft bewirkte Kratz- und Bißhandlungen.

<sup>137</sup> Etwa das heutige West-Bengalen.

<sup>138</sup> Name eines alten Reiches in Bengalen, etwa das heutige Bangladesh.

- wohlklingenden Namen, sehnt sich nach Umarmungen und Küssen, hat aber nur geringe Leidenschaft. Ihr Benehmen ist rauh. Dem Liebeskampf ist sie abgeneigt.<sup>139</sup> Sie hat üppige Gesäßbacken.
20. Die in Kāmarūpa<sup>140</sup> gebürtige Frau ist zart wie eine Śirīṣa<sup>141</sup>-Blüte und wird oft feucht. In der Liebe schmilzt sie schon hin, wenn sie nur mit der Hand berührt wird, wobei sie einzig an der Scheidenberührung Gefallen findet. Ihre Rede ist freundlich.
21. Die Frau aus Utkala<sup>142</sup> ist von großer Leidenschaft verwirrt. Durch Zähne, Schläge und Fingernägel bewirkte Wunden sind ihr angenehm. Den Mundverkehr liebt sie ganz besonders. Die aus Kālīṅga<sup>143</sup> gebürtige Frau ist wie die aus Aṅga<sup>144</sup> und Vaṅga.<sup>145</sup>
22. Mūladeva<sup>146</sup> bezeichnet die Utkala-Frau als eine, der durch mannigfache Nagelwirkungen, heftige Hiebe mit der Hand und die Arten des Mundverkehrs die höchste Lust bereitet wird — als eine, die ununterbrochenen Liebeskampf vollführt, jede Scham abgelegt hat und starke Leidenschaft besitzt.
23. Damit hat der Fürst der Weisen auch etwas über die Wesensart der Frauen in den Provinzen gesagt. In derselben Weise schließe man auch auf eine aus einer anderen Gegend stammende junge Frau. Wie man erfahren hat, sind eigenes Gefühl und angeborene

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<sup>139</sup> Sie liebt also nur die äußerlichen Zärtlichkeiten, nicht den eigentlichen Geschlechtsverkehr.

<sup>140</sup> Etwa das heutige Assam.

<sup>141</sup> Der Baum *Acacia sirissa*.

<sup>142</sup> Die Region von Puri und Bhubaneswar im heutigen Orissa.

<sup>143</sup> Name eines alten Großreiches im östlichen Indien zwischen den Flüssen Godāvarī und Mahānadī.

<sup>144</sup> Name eines alten Reiches, das vermutlich Teile der heutigen Unionsstaaten Westbengalen und Bihar umfaßte.

<sup>145</sup> Aṅga ist vorher nicht erwähnt worden, eignet sich also für einen Vergleich an dieser Stelle nicht. Daher ist diese Zeile möglicherweise falsch überliefert; denkbar ist ein Vergleich der Frauen von Utkala und Kālīṅga.

<sup>146</sup> Name eines ansonsten nicht näher bekannten Lehrers der Erotik. Herr Prof.Dr. Rahul Peter Das weist auf den berühmten Schelm Mūladeva hin, über den vor allem Maurice Bloomfield gehandelt hat ('The Character and Adventures of Mūladeva', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 52.1913, S.616-650); besteht eventuell ein Zusammenhang?



Wesensart mächtiger als die einer Provinz eigene Wesensart.

24. Damit ist alles, was über die provinzielle Wesensart der Frauen gesagt wurde, klar. Auf ebendiese Weise schließe man auch auf Frauen aus hier nicht erörterten Gegenden. Ferner erkenne man die angeborene Wesensart aufgrund der eigenen Erfahrung. Von den beiden<sup>147</sup> erkenne man das angeborene Element als das entscheidende.<sup>148</sup>
25. Nachdem man so gemäß dem Unterschied von angeborener und provinziell bedingter Wesensart das Ausmaß der Geschlechtsteile, die Zeitdauer bis zum Orgasmuseintritt, die Leidenschaftlichkeit, die betreffende Altersstufe und den Typus festgestellt hat, werden die äußerliche Liebe und der Geschlechtsverkehr in Gang gesetzt.
26. Hierbei ist zu Beginn die äußerliche Liebe zu vollziehen und dabei wiederum als erstes eine Umarmung. Aufgrund des Unterschiedes, ob nämlich ein Liebesspiel noch nicht oder doch schon stattgefunden hat, gibt es zwei Arten von Umarmungen mit insgesamt zwölf Möglichkeiten.<sup>149</sup>

## VI. Der Abschnitt über die Umarmungen

1. Wenn eine Frau einem Mann gegenübergetreten ist und dieser unter einem ablenkenden Vorwand an ihr vorübergeht und dabei mit seinem Körper ihren Körper in Kontakt bringt, so nennen die Liebeskundigen dies die 'berührende' Umarmung<sup>150 151</sup>.
2. Wenn eine mit üppigen Gesäßbacken versehene Frau, indem sie

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<sup>147</sup> Nämlich den provinziellen Besonderheiten und den charakterbedingten Wesenszügen.

<sup>148</sup> Das wurde zwar bereits in 23 bemerkt, ist aber so wesentlich — auch aus heutiger Sicht —, daß die Wiederholung verständlich wird.

<sup>149</sup> Darüber mehr im nächsten Abschnitt. Hat ein Liebesspiel noch nicht stattgefunden, muß also die Frau noch erobert werden, gibt es vier Möglichkeiten von Umarmungen, im anderen Falle acht; vgl. VI,4.

<sup>150</sup> Als Umarmung wird man dies kaum bezeichnen können, handelt es sich doch eher um eine erste Tuchföhlung im Sinne einer koketten Beröhrung.

<sup>151</sup> Vgl. die Parallelstelle im *Kāmasūtra* II,2,8. — Man beachte, daß hier und im folgenden zunächst die vier Möglichkeiten der Umarmung besprochen werden, die gegenüber einer noch nicht eroberten Frau anzuwenden sind.

nach etwas greift,<sup>152</sup> den umherblickenden, stehenden oder sitzenden Mann mit den Brüsten gleichsam durchbohrt, und dieser die Frau dann fest packt, so wird dies die 'durchbohrende' Umarmung genannt.<sup>153</sup>

3. Wenn auf einer Reise, bei einer Festlichkeit usw. oder in tiefer Finsternis die beiden lange Zeit Körper an Körper miteinander gehen, so ist dies die 'reibende' Umarmung. Erfolgt dabei ein Pressen [der Frau durch den Liebhaber] gegen eine Wand, so ist dies als 'pressende' Umarmung bekannt.
4. Um Zuneigung zu erwecken, verkündet man den Paaren, die noch keinen Beischlaf gehabt haben, ein Umarmungsspiel von vierfacher Art. Den Paaren aber, die die Wollust bereits erfahren haben, wird zur Steigerung der Verliebtheit von den Weisen eine achtfache Art dargelegt.
5. Wenn eine Frau von geradem Wuchs, indem sie kokett eine Liane nachahmt, sich um den Liebsten schlingt wie um einen Baum, wobei sie leise *sīt*<sup>154</sup> macht, Lustschreie ausstößt, sein Gesicht neigt, um es zu küssen, und sich dabei biegt, so ist dies das 'Lianenschlingen'.
6. Wenn die erschöpft seufzende Frau mit dem einen Fuß auf des Geliebten Fuß tritt, mit dem anderen Fuß auf seinen Schenkel steigt, wobei sie einen Arm um seinen Rücken legt, mit dem anderen Arm seine Schulter niederbeugt
7. und bestrebt ist, den Geliebten wie einen Baum zu erklettern, so ist dies die 'Baumerkletterung'. Damit sind die beiden Umarmungen dargelegt, die sich auf einen stehenden Partner beziehen. Jetzt sind auch die für einen schlafenden (d.h. liegenden) Gatten passenden Arten der Umarmung mitzuteilen.<sup>155</sup>
8. Wenn man sich zu mehrmaligem innigem Umarmungsspiel ausstreckt und dabei Schenkel und Arme wetteifernd ineinander ver-

<sup>152</sup> Dieses Greifen ist nur ein Vorwand für die Annäherung.

<sup>153</sup> *Kāmasūtra* II,2,9. Auch die folgenden Umarmungen haben Entsprechungen in diesem Werk.

<sup>154</sup> Dieses *sīt* galt im alten Indien als Laut der Wollust und Zärtlichkeit (vgl. Anm.43).

<sup>155</sup> Im Original sind jeweils zwei Versviertel vertauscht.



schränkt,<sup>156</sup> wonach die Glieder zu unbeweglicher Vereinigung ineinander schmelzen — dies hat einst der Fürst der Weisen<sup>157</sup> als 'Sesam und Reis' bezeichnet.

9. Wenn die Frau, dem Manne zugewandt, auf seinem Schoß oder auf dem Bett Platz genommen hat und ihr Liebster sie liebevoll und innig umarmt, so daß durch das Heraufziehen unvergleichlicher Leidenschaft alle Bedenken schwinden und die Leiber wechselseitig gleichsam ineinander eindringen, dann nennt man dies 'Milch und Wasser'.<sup>158</sup>
10. Wenn der Gatte, nachdem er die Bühne des Liebesgottes hergerichtet hat,<sup>159</sup> das Schenkelpaar der liebestrunkenen Frau durch leichtes Zusammenziehen der Zange seines eigenen Schenkelpaares drückt, so wird dies von denen, die in der Lehre der Weisen bewandert sind, als 'Schenkelumarmung' bezeichnet.<sup>160</sup>
11. Wenn die Frau mit gelöstem Haupthaar und Obergewand ihre Schamgegend an die Hüfte des Geliebten bringt und sich auf ihn legt, um auf ihm die Taten der Fingernägel und Zähne oder Küsse anzubringen, so bezeichnet der Fürst der Weisen dies als 'Schamgegendumarmung'.
12. Wenn die Schöngliedrige oben auf der Brust des Geliebten sitzt und den Busen auf ihn legt, so ist dies die 'Brüsteumarmung'. Wenn man den Mund auf den Mund, die Augen auf die Augen legt und mit der Stirn auf die Stirn klopft, so ist dies die 'Stirnumarmung'.

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<sup>156</sup> Der Kommentar zu *Kāmasūtra* II,2,18 erläutert, worum es geht: Liegt der Mann auf der rechten, die Frau auf der linken Seite, so schiebt der Mann seinen linken Schenkel zwischen die Beine der Frau und den linken Arm unter ihre rechte Schulter. Legt sich dann die Frau auf die rechte Seite, wird alles entsprechend vertauscht.

<sup>157</sup> Damit kann nur Vātsyāyana gemeint sein, dessen *Kāmasūtra* (II,2,18) die Quelle des hier Vorgetragenen ist.

<sup>158</sup> Dies könnte eventuell keine eigentliche Umarmung in unserem Sinne sein, sondern eine *positio cohabitationis*.

<sup>159</sup> D.h. wohl, nachdem er die Frau vaginal hinreichend erregt hat.

<sup>160</sup> Der "Erfinder" dieser und der folgenden Stellungen ist, wie aus dem *Kāmasūtra* (II,2,22) hervorgeht, nicht Vātsyāyana, sondern Suvarṇanābha.

## VII. Der Abschnitt über die Küsse

1. Die Augen, den Hals, die Wangen, die Lippen, die Mundhöhle, das Brüstepaar und die Stirn bezeichnet man als die für Küsse geeigneten Stellen.<sup>161</sup> Die Bewohner von Lāṭa<sup>162</sup> bereiten sich gemäß der Landesgepflogenheit wechselseitig<sup>163</sup> durch Küsse auf die Geschlechtsteile, die Nabelgrube und in die Achselhöhlen in hohem Maße Glück.
2. Als gemessenen Kuß bezeichnet man den, bei dem die Frau, vom Mann mit Gewalt dazu gebracht, mit aufwärts gerichtetem Antlitz dasteht und ihren Mund auf den des Geliebten legt.<sup>164</sup> Der zukkende Kuß ist dann der, bei welchem die Frau die in das Innere ihres Mundes gesteckte Lippe des Gatten zu packen sucht, wobei ihre gerundeten Lippen zucken; sie ergreift sie jedoch nicht.
3. Wenn das Mädchen die Lippe des Geliebten, die in ihren Mund gesteckt wurde, mit ihren Lippen sanft faßt und mit der Zunge ein wenig berührt, wobei sie mit der Hand seine Augen zuhält, so ist dies der berührende Kuß.<sup>165</sup> Was diese drei Kußarten anlangt, so sind sie bei Mädchen anzuwenden.
4. Wenn der Geliebte, der sich hinter der jungen Frau befindet, ihre Kinngegend mit beiden Händen ergreift und mit dem Mund ein wenig darüber hinwegfährt, wonach sich beide wechselseitig an der Unterlippe saugen, so ist das der umherirrende Kuß.<sup>166</sup> Steht der Geliebte schräg hinter der Frau, so wird dies als schräger Kuß bezeichnet.
5. Ergreifen sich die Lippen und drücken sich beide, so gilt dies als

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<sup>161</sup> *Kāmasūtra* II,3,4 läßt den Hals weg und nennt dafür die Haarlocken.

<sup>162</sup> Die Leidenschaftlichkeit der Frauen von Lāṭa wurde schon V,13 hervorgehoben.

<sup>163</sup> Leider ist die Zuordnung von *vyatikara* ungewiß: Gemeint sein kann sowohl, daß durch den Cunnilingus beide Partner Glück empfinden, als auch daß es sich um einen Austausch oraler Zärtlichkeiten handelt. Sollte letzteres zutreffen, böte die Stelle einen Hinweis auch auf Fellatio.

<sup>164</sup> In *Kāmasūtra* II,3,8 findet sich die Quelle dieses Satzes.

<sup>165</sup> Eine Entsprechung hat *Kāmasūtra* II,3,10.

<sup>166</sup> In diesen Details geht die Aussage des *Ratirahasya* weit über die des *Kāmasūtra* (II,3) hinaus.



drückender Kuß. Der reibende Kuß besteht darin, daß man mit zwei Fingern an der Lippe der Frau zieht und sie mit der Zungenspitze reibt. Der zahnlose Kuß entsteht, wenn man ihre mit Liebe herangezogene Lippe reibt.<sup>167</sup> Wenn aber der Geliebte in die Oberlippe beißt, so ist dies der Oberlippenkuß.

6. Wenn der bartlose Partner mit tütenförmig gerundeten Lippen die verlangend ergriffenen, ganz zarten, gleichfalls tütenförmig gerundeten Lippen des Mädchens küßt — oder aber sie tut dies —, so ist dies der Lippentütenkuß. Ein Entlang-des-Mundes-Kuß ergibt sich aus dem Kampf der spielerischen Zungen.
7. Der sanfte, der gleichmäßige, der pressende und der gebogene<sup>168</sup> Kuß werden für die übrigen Körperstellen angegeben;<sup>169</sup> ihre Bedeutung ergibt sich von selbst.
8. Wenn der sehr spät eingetroffene Gatte die schon vorher eingeschlafene oder insgeheim Schlaf vortäuschende Geliebte küßt, wird die so beschriebene Art als Weckkuß<sup>170</sup> bezeichnet, der zweifach ist.<sup>171</sup> Ferner gibt es einen als Spiegelbild bezeichneten Kuß,<sup>172</sup>
9. um eine ganz frische Zuneigung in einem Spiegel usw.<sup>173</sup> zu offenbaren. Oder man küßt ein Abbild, das den [ersehnten] Mann bzw. die [ersehnte] Frau zum Gegenstand hat. Das Umarmen oder Küssen von Abbildern, Kindern und Statuen — bei beiden wird etwas an Gefühlen hineingelegt; darum gelten sie als übertragen.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Hierbei darf also der Mann seine Zähne die Frau nicht spüren lassen.

<sup>168</sup> Die Stelle ist nicht sicher überliefert; statt des sinnwidrigen *abhyarthita* unserer Quelle haben gemäß S.C. Upadhyaya (*Kokashastra of Pandit Kokkoka*. Bombay 1981, S.50) andere Texte das hier übersetzte *añcita*, das aber kaum einen besseren Sinn ergibt.

<sup>169</sup> Nach dem Kommentar gilt der sanfte Kuß allen Körperstellen außer dem Mund. Der gleichmäßige Kuß wird auf die Schamgegend, den Busen und in die Achselhöhle gegeben. Der pressende Kuß ist für die Wangen, die Achselhöhlen und die Nabelgegend vorgesehen. Der 'gebogene' Kuß gilt vorwiegend Stirn und Kinn.

<sup>170</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,3,26.

<sup>171</sup> Nämlich je nachdem, ob die Frau schläft oder sich nur schlafend stellt.

<sup>172</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,3,28.

<sup>173</sup> Die Oberfläche eines stehenden Gewässers kommt ebenfalls in Betracht.

<sup>174</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,3,29.

VIII. Der Abschnitt über die Nägel<sup>175</sup>

1. In den Achselhöhlen, auf den Schultern, den Oberschenkeln, der Schamgegend, den Brüsten, an den Seiten, auf dem Rücken, über dem Herzen und am Hals mögen von einem leidenschaftlich verliebten Paar Nägelspuren hinterlassen werden. Auch von anderen<sup>176</sup> sind die Fingernägel zu gebrauchen, und zwar bei einem neuen Beischlaf,<sup>177</sup> nachdem ein Schmollen geendet hat, nach der Menstruation, im Rausch, nach einer Reise und nach einer Trennung.<sup>178</sup>
2. Durch die jeweilige Wesensart<sup>179</sup> wird, wie auch bei der Anwendung der Zähne, die Entscheidung über den Gebrauch der Nägel gefällt. Viele frische Spitzen sollen die Nägel von zwei überaus feurigen Partnern haben. Wuchsfreudigkeit, Freisein von Schmutz, Weichheit, Glanz, Freisein von Rillen und Rissen — dies sind die Vorzüge von Nägeln.
3. Eine mit allen Nägeln ausgeführte, ganz schwache Aktion, die undeutliche Ritzer erzeugt, die Körperhärchen zum Sträuben bringt, einen Laut wie *caṭacaṭa* hervorruft und darin besteht, daß durch den Anschlag der Daumennagelspitze gegen die anderen Nägel Wangen, Brüste und Lippen gerieben werden, nennt man Churita<sup>180</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> Hauptquelle dieses Abschnitts ist *Kāmasūtra* II,4.

<sup>176</sup> Nämlich solchen von minder heißblütigem Temperament.

<sup>177</sup> Gemeint ist der erstmalige Beischlaf mit einem neuen Partner.

<sup>178</sup> Die Übersetzung ist hier eine Sache der Auslegung. Kokkoka verwendet stets den Lokativ, der auch 'in Bezug auf' bedeuten kann, hier gegebenenfalls als 'nach' aufgefaßt worden ist. Was speziell die Menstruation betrifft, so ist wahrscheinlich kein Geschlechtsverkehr während dieser gemeint, da ein solcher allgemein verpönt war. Man könnte auch versucht sein, 'vor einer Reise und vor einer Trennung' zu lesen, doch weckt ein Abschied doch wohl eher Gefühle der Melancholie als solche exzessiver Leidenschaft. Das *Kāmasūtra* läßt bei einer Reise beide Versionen zu.

<sup>179</sup> Gemeint sind die Charakterzüge wie auch die Gepflogenheiten des jeweiligen Landesteiles.

<sup>180</sup> Vgl. Anm.44. Das Wort wird auch etwas euphemistisch mit 'Nagelmusik' übersetzt (z.B. von S. Lienhard in *Kokkoka. Geheimnisse der Liebeskunst*. Schmiden 1960, S.83 und Anm.84). Gemeint ist das knipsende Geräusch der Fingernägel, das demjenigen gleicht, das beim Knacken eines Flohs entsteht. Anstelle des Flohs gerät bei der



4. Ein krummes Mal, das am Busen oder am Hals angebracht wird: Das ist der 'Halbmond'. Stehen zwei solche 'Halbmonde' einander gegenüber, so nennt der Fürst der Weisen dies den 'Kreis'. Seine Stellen sind: Die Gegend oberhalb der Schamgegend,<sup>181</sup> Lenden und Oberschenkel. Eine zwei bis drei Finger lange 'Linie' ritzt man allenthalben ein.
5. Wenn der Daumennagel unterhalb des Busens eingedrungen ist und man mit den Nägeln aller übrigen Finger über den Busen fährt, so daß die Linien in Richtung auf die Brustwarzen verlaufen, so bezeichnen dies die Wissenden als den 'Pfauenfuß'.
6. Mit allen Fingernägeln oberhalb des Busens<sup>182</sup> kratzend, erzeugt man den 'Hasensprung'. Ein entsprechend geformtes Mal am Busen, in der Schamgegend und auf dem Rücken heißt 'Lotosblatt'.<sup>183</sup> Erfahrene Männer bringen bei ihrer Liebsten zur Erinnerung vor dem Aufbruch zu einer Reise drei oder vier eng nebeneinander verlaufende 'Linien' in der Schamgegend oder auf dem Busen an.

### IX. Der Abschnitt über die äußerliche Liebe<sup>184</sup>

1. Gerühmt werden Zähne von sanftem Glanz, die scharfe Spitzen haben, nicht übermäßig lang und nicht schadhaft sind, die farblich attraktiv und gleichmäßig sind und dicht beieinander stehen. Mit Ausnahme der Mundhöhle, der Oberlippe und der Augen sind die Zähne an den in der Anweisung über die Küsse erwähnten Stellen

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hier beschriebenen Aktion ein Stück Haut zwischen die Nägel.

<sup>181</sup> Nicht, wie man auch zu interpretieren versucht hat, der obere Teil der Scham, denn innerhalb der Schamhaare bliebe ein solches Mal ja verborgen, wäre seine Applikation somit zwecklos.

<sup>182</sup> *kucāgra* ist mehrdeutig; wörtl.: 'Brustspitze'. Daß die Warzen gemeint wären, dürfen wir hoffentlich verneinen.

<sup>183</sup> Die hier genannten Male bilden nur einen Bruchteil der im *Kāmasūtra* aufgezählten. Kulturhistorisch darf man dies wohl so einschätzen, daß die (aus unserer heutigen Sicht) Unsitte des Kratzens (*Vātsyāyana* gibt Beispiele für schwere Verletzungen oder gar Todesfälle infolge derartigen Vorgehens) im Rückgang begriffen war.

<sup>184</sup> Es ist ungewiß, wie der Abschnitt zu dieser irreführenden Überschrift kommt. Mit Petting hat er jedenfalls nichts zu tun, sondern beschreibt analog den Nagelspuren die Zahnmale. Er hätte demgemäß *Dantādhikāra* überschrieben werden müssen.

in Anwendung zu bringen.

2. Der 'versteckte' Biß in die Unterlippe hat Rötung<sup>185</sup> als einziges Kennzeichen.<sup>186</sup> Der 'geschwollene' Biß entsteht durch Drücken auf die Lippen und die linke Wange. So ist dort auch auf die Unterlippe durch eine besondere Zusammenfügung<sup>187</sup> auf Grund wiederholter Übung der 'Korallenstein' zustandezubringen.
3. Wenn man mit zwei Zähnen<sup>188</sup> in der Mitte der Lippe eine sesamkornartige Wunde hervorruft, so ist dies der 'Punktbiß'. Wenn aber die Verwundung durch alle scharfspitzigen Zähne bewirkt wird, so entstehen 'Juwel-' und 'Punktgirlande'. Diese sind ein Schmuck für die Achselhöhlen, die Stirn, den Hals und die Leisten.
4. Der 'Wolkenriß' ist in die Busenwölbung mit den Zahnsitzen einzuritzen; er hat die Form einer Kreisscheibe mit ungleichen Zacken. Das 'Eberknabbern' besteht in nicht unbedeutenden, dichten Zahnschürffurten mit dunkelroten Zwischenräumen. Sie sind ein Schmuck für Busen und Rücken.<sup>189</sup>

## X. Der Abschnitt über die Stellungen beim Verkehr

1. In der prächtig beleuchteten, mit Blütengirlanden bestreuten Wohnung, in der sich der Duft des Räucherwerks ausbreitet, soll der fein gekleidete Liebhaber zusammen mit seiner Begleiterschar, an seiner linken Seite die Frau, die ihren Schmuck angelegt hat, zum Niedersetzen veranlassen. Dann soll er eine witzige Unterhaltung anbahnen.
2. Die Freundin mit dem linken Arm leicht umfassend, berühre er immer wieder den Saum ihres Gewandes, das Brüstepaar und den Gürtel. Nachdem er den Gesang neckischer Lieder angestimmt und

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<sup>185</sup> Im Text ist *rāgaikaliṅgam* statt *rāgaiḥ kaliṅgam* zu lesen.

<sup>186</sup> Nach dem Kommentar zu *Kāmasūtra* II,5,5 wird dieser Biß durch eine einzige Zahnschürffurte verursacht.

<sup>187</sup> Diese besteht aus einem andauernden Zusammenschluß von Oberzahn und Unterlippe.

<sup>188</sup> Nämlich je einem Zahn aus dem Ober- und Unterkiefer, die zusammen als Zange wirken.

<sup>189</sup> Auch hier (vgl. Anm.183) geht der betreffende Abschnitt des *Kāmasūtra* (II,5) weit mehr ins Detail.



damit im Herzen der jungen Frau Zuneigung hervorgerufen hat, bricht er die Unterhaltung ab.<sup>190</sup>

3. Nun küßt er die Stirn, das Kinn, die Wangen und die Nasenspitze, macht wiederholt *sīt* und berührt immer wieder mit der Zunge die ihre und ihren Gaumen.<sup>191</sup> Das Churita-Mal ritzt er auf ihre Nabelgrube, auf den Busen und die Oberschenkel, legt sie hin<sup>192</sup> und löst mit konsequenter Beharrlichkeit ihr Untergewand.
4. Wenn er sich aber einer nähert, die noch zögert, soll er ihre Wangen und Ohrläppchen küssen, die Spitze des Penis gegen das Haus des Liebesgottes (Vagina) drücken, seinen Mund auf den ihren legen, ihren Körper mit beiden Armen umfassen und mit den Händen in ihrer Scheide das Spiel der Erregung treiben.<sup>193</sup>
5. Bei manchen Frauen ist die Scheide innen weich wie eine Lotosblüte, oder sie ist mit Wärzchen<sup>194</sup> bedeckt oder aber faltig; wieder andere haben das Aussehen einer Rinderzunge. Somit ist die Scheide der Frauen von vierfacher Art. Die jeweils früher genannte gelangt schneller zum Orgasmus und ist somit die rühmenswertere.
6. Es befindet sich im Zentrum der Scheide eine kleine Röhre, die dem männlichen Glied entspricht;<sup>195</sup> das ist das Vehikel, über welches es zum Orgasmus kommt. Wenn sie mit zwei Fingern erregt wird, sprudelt eine Flut von Liebeswasser. Sie und des Liebes-

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<sup>190</sup> In diese waren bis dahin auch die Begleiter einbezogen worden, die nun entlassen werden.

<sup>191</sup> Der Text spricht nur von Küssen, doch muß dieser Begriff hier wohl in weiterem Sinne aufgefaßt werden.

<sup>192</sup> Dieser Kausativ von *śvap*, der eigentlich 'einschläfern' und sogar 'töten' bedeutet, muß hier in Abweichung von der Norm übersetzt werden.

<sup>193</sup> Damit beendet Kokkoka die Beschreibung des Vorspiels und geht zur Beschreibung der Scheide über. Hierbei erweist er sich als vollkommen unabhängig vom *Kāmasūtra*, das zu diesem Thema keine Angaben macht.

<sup>194</sup> Eine vergleichsweise freie Übersetzung von *aṅguli*, das anders keinen rechten Sinn ergäbe.

<sup>195</sup> Gemäß der noch unveröffentlichten Habilitationsschrift von Rahul Peter Das (*The Origin of the Life of a Human Being. Conception and the Female according to Ancient Indian Medical and Sexological Literature*), die bald bei Motilal Banarsidass in Delhi erscheinen soll, handelt es sich hierbei wahrscheinlich nicht um die Clitoris, sondern um die Portio vaginalis (Zäpfchen) der Gebärmutter.

- gottes Sonnenschirm<sup>196</sup> bezeichnet man hier als die beiden sinnlichen Potenzen der jungen Frauen.
7. Oberhalb der Scheidenspalte liegt das, was man als den Sonnenschirm des Liebesgottes bezeichnet; es hat die Gestalt einer Nase<sup>197</sup> und ist mit allen Wollustnerven reich ausgestattet. Es befindet sich nicht übermäßig weit davon innerhalb der Scheidenöffnung eine mit Wollustflüssigkeit vollständig gefüllte Röhre, der sogenannte 'Vollmond'.
  8. Es befindet sich dort noch ein anderes Gebiet vieler Adern. Das Wichtigste beim Reiben mit den Fingern sind jedoch die drei, die hier genannt worden sind.<sup>198</sup> Der 'Elefantenrüssel', die 'Schlangenwindung', der 'Halbmond' und der 'Treibstachel des Liebesgottes' u.a. gelten als Bezeichnungen für die Arten der Fingertätigkeit.<sup>199</sup>
  9. Auch eine Spröde macht man gefügig, indem man mit Zeige- und Mittelfinger mehrmals und nach Belieben die genannten Adern erregt. Wenn durch Nägel, Zähne, Küsse, Umarmungen und die Bestatung der Schamgegend das Reich der Wollust prangt, führe man mit dem Penis die Vereinigung herbei.
  10. Nachdem man gemäß der Wesensart die äußerliche Liebe betrieben hat, schätze man ein, ob die Geliebte erregt ist. Dann erst möge der Gatte mit einem Glied, dessen Maß ihrem Liebestempel gleichkommt, den Beischlaf vollziehen.
  11. Die Verengung einer schlaffen Scheidenöffnung erfolgt, wenn der Verkehr mit geschlossenen Schenkeln vonstatten geht.<sup>200</sup> Bei einer sehr festen Scheide ist eine Lockerung vonnöten; darum gilt hier ein Verkehr, bei dem die Frau die Schenkel spreizt, für angemessen.
  12. So schließt bei der niedrigen Geschlechtsverbindung<sup>201</sup> die von

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<sup>196</sup> Wohl die Clitoris (vgl. oben, Anm.13).

<sup>197</sup> Anspielung auf die zwei Nasenflügel.

<sup>198</sup> Kitzler, Schamlippen und 'Vollmond'.

<sup>199</sup> Diese werden jedoch hier nicht weiter erklärt, so daß wir uns mit den bloßen Namen begnügen müssen.

<sup>200</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,6,2.

<sup>201</sup> Stute mit Rammler, Elefantenkuh mit Stier, insbesondere aber Elefantenkuh mit Rammler; vgl. III,3-4.



tollem Liebesverlangen befallene Frau ihre zu weite Schamgegend. Gewiß läßt sie sie bei der erhöhten Liebesbeziehung<sup>202</sup> weiter werden. Bei der gleichartigen Verbindung<sup>203</sup> ruht sie richtig und gleichmäßig.

13. Die nach oben blickende,<sup>204</sup> die seitliche, ferner die sitzende, die stehende und noch die gebeugte:<sup>205</sup> das sind die von dem Weisen<sup>206</sup> aufgezeigten Grundstellungen beim Beischlaf. Der Reihe nach werde ich nun ihre Besonderheiten vollständig darlegen.
14. In der Anzahl der Stellungen, bei denen die Frau auf dem Rücken liegt, werden zwei für den gleichartigen Verkehr, drei für den erhöhten und ferner vier für den niedrigen Verkehr von dem Weisen aufgezählt, jedoch ohne nähere Bestimmung.
15. Wenn die auf dem Rücken liegende Frau ihre beiden Schenkel auf die Schenkel des sitzenden Mannes legt,<sup>207</sup> so ist dies die 'ländliche' Stellung; hält die Frau ihre Schenkel außerhalb seiner Hüften, nennt man die Stellung 'städtisch'.
16. Wenn die Frau mit beiden Händen die Gesäßbacken hebt und so den Venusberg aufwärts richtet, wobei der Busen in den Händen des Gatten ruht, und wenn sie beide Fersen außen um seine Gesäßbacken legt, so wird dies die 'aufgeblühte' Stellung genannt.
17. Wenn die Frau beide Schenkel nach der Seite hält und auf diese Weise sich mit dem Geliebten geschlechtlich vergnügt, und wenn sie dabei sich nähert und entfernt, wobei sie Schenkel und Scheide öffnet, so wird dies hienieden als 'gespreizte' Stellung bezeichnet.
18. Wenn die Frau ihr eigenes Schenkelpaar, es gleichmäßig haltend, mit den Knien des Geliebten von der Seite her vereinigt, so wird diese nur durch lange Übung zu erlernende Stellung als 'Indra-

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<sup>202</sup> Gazelle mit Stier, Stute mit Hengst, insbesondere aber Gazelle mit Hengst.

<sup>203</sup> Vgl. III,2-4.

<sup>204</sup> Gemeint ist, daß die Frau auf dem Rücken liegt.

<sup>205</sup> Alle Stellungen betreffen die Frau; die letztgenannte ist der coitus a tergo, bei dem der Mann von hinten eindringt.

<sup>206</sup> Gemeint ist hier und im folgenden Vātsyāyana.

<sup>207</sup> Der Mann sitzt der Frau zugewandt. — Daß diese und andere Positionen uns nur für Artisten geeignet scheinen, will nur besagen, daß Europa eben nicht das Maß aller Dinge ist. Kokkoka hat jedenfalls nicht phantasiert, sondern das beschrieben, was in seinem Lande und zu seiner Zeit üblich war.

Gattin' bezeichnet.<sup>208</sup>

19. Wenn die beiden sich vereinigen, indem sie die Beine gerade halten, so ist dies die 'Schale'.<sup>209</sup> Sie ist von zweierlei Art, abhängig davon, ob die junge Frau auf dem Rücken oder auf der Seite liegt. Wenn die Frau dabei die Schenkel zusammenpreßt, so ergibt sich daraus die 'pressende' Stellung.
20. Wenn aber die Frau ihre beiden Schenkel miteinander verschränkt, so trägt die Stellung den Namen 'umhüllend'.<sup>210</sup> Erfäßt die Frau mit der von den Schamlippen umgebenen Spalte den unbeweglichen Penis, so ist dies die 'Stuten'-Stellung.<sup>211</sup>
21. Wenn der Mann die junge Frau beschläft, indem er ihr zusammengepreßtes, nach oben gerichtetes Schenkelpaar umarmt, so ist dies die 'gekrümmte' Stellung.<sup>212</sup> Wenn aber dabei die Frau ihre beiden Füße auf seine Beine legt, heißt dies das 'Brustzerreißen'.
22. Ist ein Bein dabei ausgestreckt, ergibt sich die 'halbgepreßte' Stellung. Wenn beide Knie<sup>213</sup> der jungen Frau auf der Schulter [des Mannes] liegen, entsteht die 'klaffende' Stellung.<sup>214</sup> Wenn sie dabei ein Bein nach unten streckt, ist dies die 'Streckstellung'.
23. Wegen des vielfachen Stellungswechsels ist das 'Bambusspalten' hienieden bekannt geworden.<sup>215</sup> Wenn ein Beinende der Frau

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<sup>208</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,6,11.

<sup>209</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,6,16-17 und 19.

<sup>210</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,6,20.

<sup>211</sup> Das ist eine für das alte Indien besonders charakteristische Stellung. Sie hat neuerdings unter der Bezeichnung Carezza eine Wiederentdeckung gefunden und dient der Verhütung einer unerwünschten Empfängnis. Ihr Wesen besteht darin, nur die Erektion aufrechtzuerhalten, den Samenerguß aber zu vermeiden. Besonders angesehen waren solche Frauen, die durch raffiniertes Spiel der Scheidenmuskulatur dem Mann nicht nur die Erektion sicherten, sondern ihm auch orgasmusähnliche Gefühle bereiteten. Diese Vaginaltätigkeit führt heute den Namen Pompoir. Es ist durchaus möglich, daß solche Praktiken auch bei dem noch heute in Südasien (vor allem im Osten des Subkontinents) praktizierten "tantrischen" Ritualverkehr eine Rolle spielen, doch harret die Angelegenheit noch eingehenderer Untersuchung.

<sup>212</sup> Vgl. für diese und andere Stellungen *Kāmasūtra* II,6,24ff.

<sup>213</sup> Genauer: die Kniekehlen.

<sup>214</sup> Eine auch heutzutage von jungen, schlanken Frauen bevorzugte Stellung, die ein besonders tiefes Eindringen des männlichen Gliedes gestattet.

<sup>215</sup> Eines der Beine der Frau liegt auf der Schulter des Mannes; das andere ist



- nach unten, das andere nach oben, auf den Kopf des Mannes, kommt, ist dies das 'Speerdurchbohren'.
24. Wenn beide Beine der jungen Frau eingebogen sind und auf des Mannes Nabel gesetzt werden, ergibt sich die 'Krebs'-Stellung.<sup>216</sup> Eine 'Schaukel' entsteht, wenn die junge Frau ihre Füße heftig bewegt.<sup>217</sup>
  25. Wenn die junge Frau ihre Unterschenkel kreuzt, wird dies als 'Lottossitz' bezeichnet. Aber geht die Verschränkung nur von *einem* Bein aus, so ist dies der 'Halblottossitz'.
  26. Wenn die Geliebte ihre beiden Arme zwischen ihre eigenen beiden Knie führt und sie um den Hals des Partners legt, und wenn auch der Geliebte sie mit beiden Armen, die inmitten seiner Knie geführt wurden, umfaßt, bezeichnen die Weisen dies als 'Schlangenfessel'.
  27. Wenn der Mann die beiden Beine der jungen Frau, die die Hände auf die großen Zehen gelegt hat, auf seine eigenen beiden Knie legt und die beiden Arme um ihren Hals, ist dies die 'Fesselung'.
  28. Wenn der Mann den Beischlaf ausübt, nachdem er beide Arme auf ihre Arme, den Mund auf ihren Mund und die Beine gegen ihre Beine gelegt hat, so ist dies die 'Schildkröten'-Stellung. Sind [dabei] die beiden Schenkel emporgerichtet, ist es die 'umgewendete' Stellung.<sup>218</sup> Wenn aber die beiden Schenkel des Mannes von den Schenkeln, Nägeln und Füßen der Geliebten gepreßt werden, so ist dies die 'Preßstellung'.
  29. Damit sind diejenigen Stellungen, bei denen die Frau nach oben schaut, abgehandelt. Im Folgenden spreche ich von den beiden Beischlafarten, bei denen man seitlich liegt. Befinden sich die Schenkel des Mannes zwischen den Schenkeln der Geliebten, wird dies von den Weisen als 'Schachtel' bezeichnet.
  30. Wenn, ohne sich dabei zu trennen, die junge Frau oder der Mann diesen 'Schachtel'-Beischlaf vollzieht und nach entsprechender Übung eine leichte Drehung der beiden Oberkörper stattfindet, so

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ausgestreckt. Darin wird dann immer abgewechselt.

<sup>216</sup> Es ist *karkaṭaka* statt *markaṭaka* zu lesen.

<sup>217</sup> Dieser Satz ist textlich nicht einwandfrei überliefert.

<sup>218</sup> Es will nicht recht gelingen, diese Bezeichnung zu erklären, doch beginnt die am Ende des Verses herrschende Textverderbnis möglicherweise schon hier.

ist dies die 'Drehung'.<sup>219</sup>

31. Wenn eines der beiden Beine der im Sitzen befindlichen Schönen gekrümmt ist und der Mann, etwas seitlich, sich ebenso mit ihr vereint,<sup>220</sup> so wird dies als die 'Beinpaar'-Stellung betrachtet.
32. Wenn der Mann, der sich zwischen den Knien der Schönen befindet, sich geschlechtlich vergnügt und dabei die eigene Hüfte wiegt, gilt dies als 'Reibung'. Findet die Vereinigung so statt, daß die beiden lediglich einander zugewandt sitzen, ist dies die 'Affen'-Stellung.
33. Damit ist auch diese Spielart der geschlechtlichen Vereinigung besprochen. Nun folgt der Orgasmus in den 'Standbild'-Stellungen.<sup>221</sup> Wenn beide Partner, an eine Säule oder eine Wand gelehnt, aufrecht stehen, können sie sich auf viererlei Art befriedigen.
34. Wenn der Mann mit dem Ellbogen das Knie der Frau umfaßt, mit dem Fuß ihren Hals greift und seinen hoch aufgerichteten Penis einführt, so ist dies die 'Knie-Ellbogen'-Stellung.
35. Wenn dabei das eine Bein der Frau hochgehoben wird, so entsteht die mit 'Hari-Schritt'<sup>222</sup> bezeichnete Stellung. Stellt die Schöne beide Füße auf die Hände des an der Wand befindlichen Liebsten, wird diese Vereinigung als 'Zwei-Handflächen'-Stellung bezeichnet.
36. Wenn die Frau auf den der Blüte der Wasserrose gleichenden Händen des an der Wand befindlichen Geliebten sitzt, sich an seinen Hals mit den Lianen ihrer beiden Arme festhält<sup>223</sup> und mit den Schlingen ihrer Schenkel die Hüfte des Liebsten umwindet, mit den Fußsohlen zur Stützung an die Wand stoßend schaukelt,<sup>224</sup> seufzt und erregte *sīt*-Laute ausstößt, wird dies als 'Liebe im Hängestütz' bezeichnet.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Hiernach werden die drei im Sitzen auszuführenden Stellungen besprochen.

<sup>220</sup> Gemeint ist folgendes: Die Frau hat ein Bein ausgestreckt, das andere angewinkelt. Der ihr gegenüberstehende Mann legt sein ausgestrecktes Bein unter das der Frau.

<sup>221</sup> Nunmehr werden die im Stehen einzunehmenden Positionen erörtert.

<sup>222</sup> Offenbar ein Anspielung auf die drei Schritte Viṣṇus (= Haris), mit denen dieser Erde, Luftraum und Himmel durchmessen haben soll.

<sup>223</sup> Kokkoka bringt in Erinnerung, daß sein Leitfaden der Liebeskunst gleichzeitig ein Werk der Kunstdichtung ist.

<sup>224</sup> Sie wiegt sich mit eingeführtem Penis hin und her.

<sup>225</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,6,38. In Khajuraho und Konarak finden sich Skulpturen, die



37. Als 'gebeugte' Stellung gilt, wenn die Geliebte, das Gesicht nach unten gerichtet, die Haltung eines Vierfüßlers annimmt, und wenn der Liebhaber auf ihre Hüfte steigt und die Stellung eines Stiers oder eines anderen Tieres<sup>226</sup> einnimmt.
38. Wenn die Frau ihre beiden Hände auf die eigenen Füße legt, der Liebhaber auf ihre Hüfte steigt und mit abwärts gerichtetem Gesicht allmählich eindringt, wobei er sich wie ein Stier aufrichtet, ist dies die 'Kuh'-Stellung.
39. Wenn der Liebhaber, indem er mit der eigenen Hand seinen Penis festhält, die Frau, deren Busen, Arme, Mund und Kopf die Erde berühren, deren Gesäßbacken aber nach oben gerichtet sind, nach Art eines Elefanten besteigt, so spricht man von der 'Elefanten'-Stellung.
40. Darüber hinaus führt man noch weitere Stellungen aus, vorwiegend die der Gazelle, des Esels, des Hundes und des Büffels.<sup>227</sup>
41. Wenn ein Liebhaber aber gleichzeitig mit zwei Frauen, deren Schenkel entgegengesetzt sind,<sup>228</sup> Verkehr hat,<sup>229</sup> oder wenn ein liebestolles Mädchen zwei Liebhaber hat, so kennt man dies als 'kombinierte Vereinigung'.
42. Ebenso kann es auch eine andere Art geben: Wenn sich nämlich eine Frau mit vier Männern oder ein Liebhaber mit vier Frauen geschlechtlich vergnügt, und zwar unter Zufügung von Liebeswunden und Berühren des Gesichtes, der Hände, Füße und des Penis.<sup>230</sup>

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ebendiese Stellung wiedergeben.

<sup>226</sup> Das *Kāmasūtra* (II,6,41) erwähnt neben dem Stier noch Hund, Hirsch, Ziegenbock, Esel, Kater, Tiger, Elefant, Eber, Hengst.

<sup>227</sup> Damit schließt Kokkoka die Besprechung der Positionen beim Geschlechtsverkehr. Hiernach äußert er sich, wie vor ihm schon das *Kāmasūtra*, zum Gruppensex.

<sup>228</sup> D.h. sie liegen in der sog. 'Stellung 69'; die Füße der einen liegen neben dem Kopf der anderen.

<sup>229</sup> Nach dem Kommentar hat der Mann mit der einen Frau normalen Verkehr, während er die andere mit den Fingern oder der Zunge befriedigt.

<sup>230</sup> Im *Kāmasūtra* II,6,47 wird dazu ausgeführt (bei fünf Liebhabern): Der eine soll sie halten, ein anderer ihr beiwohnen, ein dritter die Schamgegend, ein weiterer das Antlitz und wieder ein anderer die Körpermitte lieblosen.

43. Das Regelwerk der 'Standbild'-Stellungen ist damit besprochen.<sup>231</sup> Die sonstigen Arten, die sich daraus ergeben, wie der Penis die Scheide reibt — Quirlung, Pressung, Eberstoß usw. —, sind als nicht allzu fruchtbringend von mir weggelassen worden.
44. Die Arten des Pressens, Schlagens und Reibens der Scheide können oberhalb und ebenso ringsherum und unterhalb vorgenommen werden. Ist die Schöngesäßige von Liebe erfüllt, führe der Mann den in der Hand gehaltenen Penis in die Scheide ein.
45. Wenn ihre Augenscheiben flackern, drücke er die Frau umso mehr. Erschlaffen des Körpers, Schließen der Augen und Ohnmacht sind die Kennzeichen des Orgasmus.
46. Immer wieder bringt sie ihre Scheide zum Zusammenziehen, stößt den *sīt*-Laut aus, von Liebestollheit erfüllt.<sup>232</sup> Dies sind die Hinweise auf den Zeitpunkt ihres Gefühlshöhepunktes. Nun sind aber auch die Kennzeichen ihrer Nichtbefriedigung aufzuführen.
47. Sie schüttelt die Hand, schlägt, gibt ihn nicht frei und springt plötzlich auf ihn, entweder aus eigenem Antrieb oder wenn der Liebhaber ermüdet ist; die Frau vollzieht dann die Rolle des Mannes.<sup>233</sup>
48. Entweder von Anfang an<sup>234</sup> oder nachdem sie ihn mit eingeführtem Penis nach unten gelegt hat,<sup>235</sup> verhält sie sich wie ein Mann. Mit eingebogenem Bein<sup>236</sup> dreht sie sich, während die Schamgend des Mannes nach oben gerichtet ist, wie ein Rad.<sup>237</sup>
49. Wenn ihre Hüftendrehung allseits erfolgt, wird dies die 'Schaukel'

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<sup>231</sup> Aus diesem Satz scheint zu folgen, daß die Verse 41 und 42 Interpolationen sind.

<sup>232</sup> Nach dem Kontext übersetzt; eigentlich bedeutet *garvita* "stolz".

<sup>233</sup> D.h. sie liegt dann auf ihm; vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,8.

<sup>234</sup> Das Paar beginnt die Vereinigung sogleich mit dem Coitus inversus.

<sup>235</sup> Hier hat das Paar in der üblichen Grundstellung begonnen und dreht sich nun so, daß die Frau oben liegt, wobei der Penis in der Scheide bleibt.

<sup>236</sup> Nach dem Kommentar wird das linke Bein gebeugt.

<sup>237</sup> Dies ist die berühmte 'Mühle'; in dieser schwierigen Position dreht sich die Frau, ohne sich vom Mann zu lösen, mit dem Penis als Achse im Kreis herum. Das *Kāmasūtra* II,6,33 kennt die Stellung ebenfalls, doch ist dort der Mann der aktive Teil. Ein in neuerer Zeit empfohlener, diesem Liebeskarussell aber nur schwache Konkurrenz bietender Versuch in dieser Richtung ist die 'Kreuzstellung', bei der der Penis um 90° verkantet eingeführt wird.



Stellung genannt. Dabei möge sie Schläge austeilen, *sīt* machen und mit lächelnd verzogenem Mund folgendes sagen:

50. 'Jetzt bist du Schuft von mir zu Fall gebracht worden. Ich schlage dich! Wehre dich! Demütig bist du geworden.' Während sie ihn immer wieder schlägt, klingt ihr Armreif, küßt ihr schwarzes Haupt haar ihre Lippen, wiegt sie sich, trunken, heftig mit den Hinterbacken. Dieses Tun beende sie dann von selbst.
51. Wenn er dann ihre Ermüdung gewahrt, lasse er die Frau niedersinken und vollziehe beim Erguß die 'Schachtel'.<sup>238</sup> Wenn sie auch so nicht zur Befriedigung kommt, wende er für ihre Wollust die Finger an.
52. Man nehme zur Sinnesbetäubung die Stellung, bei der die Frau oben liegt, nicht ein, wenn die Frau erst vor kurzem entbunden hat [oder] wenn sie mit der Menstruation behaftet ist. Wenn sie schwanger oder vom Typ einer Gazelle ist,<sup>239</sup> wenn sie korpulent ist,<sup>240</sup> ein Mädchen oder eine Magere, nehme man sie ebenfalls davon aus.<sup>241</sup>
53. Die geschlechtliche Leidenschaft wird als Liebeskampf bezeichnet.<sup>242</sup> Als ein Teil davon gilt das Schlagen, ferner das einen Schmerz bekundende *sīt*-Machen. Davon wurden zahlreiche Arten von den Weisen aufgeführt.<sup>243</sup>
54. Das Schlagen geschieht mit der glatten Handfläche, mit dem Handrücken, mit der Faust und mit der ausgestreckten Hand auf den Rücken, die Seiten, die Schamgegend, die Busenfurche und auf den Kopf; diese sind nämlich die Stätten des Liebesgottes (d.h. erogene Zonen).

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<sup>238</sup> Vgl. X,29.

<sup>239</sup> Weil eine zarte Frau in dieser Stellung zu sehr strapaziert werden könnte. Zur Gazelle vgl. III,19ff.

<sup>240</sup> Weil eine solche wiederum den Mann strapaziert.

<sup>241</sup> Ähnliche Regeln enthält das *Kāmasūtra* II,8,41.

<sup>242</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch von Interesse Hartmut Scharfes Aufsatz 'Der Liebeskampf bei den indischen Erotikern', in: *Kreative Aggression. Festschrift für George Bach*. Hilarion Petzold, Hartmut Scharfe (Hrsg.). Paderborn 1985 (Integrative Therapie, Beiheft 9), S.85-92.

<sup>243</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,7,1ff.

55. Als *sīt*-Laute<sup>244</sup> kennt man: den *hiṃ*-Laut,<sup>245</sup> das 'Donnern',<sup>246</sup> den *sīt*- und *ut*-Laut,<sup>247</sup> den *phūt*-Laut,<sup>248</sup> das Seufzen, Weinen usw., ferner Ausrufe wie 'Hör auf!', 'Drücke [mich]!', 'Nimm mich!', 'Laß mich leben!', 'Schone mich!', 'Oh!', 'Pfui!'.
56. Eine Mischung aus einer Reihe von Schreien, die denen der Wachtel, der Taube, des indischen Kuckucks, der Gans und des Pfaus ähneln, wird beim Schlagen angewandt. Doch auch noch andere Schreie werden von den Lebemännern<sup>249</sup> angestrebt.
57. Nach oben, durch Hals und Nase, entweicht der *hiṃ*-Laut. Das 'Donnern' ist wie Wolkengetöse, dagegen wie platzender Bambus der *sīt*-Laut, während der *phūt*-Laut so klingt, als fielen Beeren ins Wasser.
58. Man weiß, daß ein Schlag mit der Hand Töne des Weinens hervorruft und daß ein Schlag mit dem Handrücken im Brustbereich anzuwenden ist. Der Gebrauch der Faust ist bekannt, nämlich auf dem Rücken; die schlangenhaubenartig ausgestreckte Hand betätigt sich am Kopf.
59. Das Schlagen mit der Handfläche erfolgt auf die Schamgegend; an den Seiten kommt die flache Hand zur Anwendung. Die 'Scherre'<sup>250</sup> und andere in Südindien gebrauchte Schläge werden hier<sup>251</sup> von den Weisen verabscheut.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Unter diesem Oberbegriff werden hier die Arten von Liebes- und Schmerzlauten zusammengefaßt.

<sup>245</sup> Ein nasalierter *hi*-Laut, der bereits in der vedischen Opferritualistik eine große Rolle spielt.

<sup>246</sup> Ein gutturaler *ham*-Laut.

<sup>247</sup> Das *Kāmasūtra* II,7,6 hat stattdessen den *sūt*- und *dūt*-Laut.

<sup>248</sup> Dieser Laut soll nach dem *Kāmasūtra* (II,7,18) dem Geräusch entsprechen, das ins Wasser fallende Beeren verursachen; die Zunge berührt dabei den Gaumen. Ähnlich Vers 57.

<sup>249</sup> Damit könnten Leute gemeint sein, die auf sadistische Praktiken ausgehen.

<sup>250</sup> Ein bestimmter Schlag gegen den Kopf, der die Königin Malayavatī das Leben kostete.

<sup>251</sup> Diese Stelle zeigt, daß das *Ratirahasya* nicht in Südindien entstanden sein kann.

<sup>252</sup> Schon Vātsyāyana hatte in *Kāmasūtra* II,7,25-30 entschieden vor solchen gefährlichen Praktiken gewarnt.



60. Der Liebste schlage die auf seinem Schoß sitzende junge Frau<sup>253</sup> mit seiner Faust auf den Rücken. Sie, gleichsam zornig, tue dies auch. Sie jammert, seufzt und ist verwirrt<sup>254</sup> von Liebe.
61. Bis zur Vollendung (Orgasmus) vollführt der Mann, nachdem er seinen Penis eingeführt hat, allmählich zunehmendes Schlagen mit dem Handrücken auf die Herzgegend der jungen Frau. Auch sie stoße hierbei immer wieder den *sīt*-Laut aus.
62. Wenn sie sich dabei widersetzt, dann schlage er ihren Kopf mit der gestreckten Hand und mache *kāt*.<sup>255</sup> Die junge Frau vollführe heftig den *phūt*-Laut und während des Schlagens ein Seufzen und Weinen.
63. Flink schlage er sie bis zur Vollendung mit der flachen Hand auf die Schamgegend und auf beide Seiten. Wenn dann ihre Leidenschaft nachläßt,<sup>256</sup> vollführe die Schöngesäßige das Geschrei des Schwans und der Wachtel.
64. Geschrei und Seufzen vollführe die Schöngesäßige eine Weile lang am Schluß der Sinnesbetäubung. Auch sonst, wenn etwa der Schmerz gewichen und sie entspannt ist, entzückt eine kehlig zwitschernde Frau.
65. Mit Liebe gepaarte Rauheit und Heftigkeit schreiben die Frauen den Männern beim Beischlaf zu. Doch ist da und dort, je nach der Wesensart [der beteiligten Partner], auch eine aus Liebe und nicht für lange Zeit vorgenommen Vertauschung hinreißend.<sup>257</sup>
66. Wie auch ein in die fünfte Gangart (Galopp) gefallenes Rennpferd keinen Pfeiler oder sonst ein Hindernis gewahrt, so sehen auch die beiden Partner im Liebeswettstreit nicht Schnitte, nicht Schläge noch Vernichtung.<sup>258</sup>
67. Aber man bedenke dabei die Wesensart der Frauen und wende demgemäß heftiges oder gemäßigtes Verfahren an. Die Ausführung

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<sup>253</sup> Im Text muß es *yuvatim* statt *yutim* heißen.

<sup>254</sup> *kātara* ist eigentlich 'ängstlich, schüchtern'.

<sup>255</sup> Der Text läßt die Möglichkeit zu, daß es die Frau ist, die diesen Laut von sich gibt.

<sup>256</sup> Also nach dem von ihr erlebten Orgasmus.

<sup>257</sup> Die Quelle für diese bekanntlich durchaus zutreffende These ist *Kāmasūtra* II,7,22-23.

<sup>258</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* II,7,32-33.

des Mundverkehrs ist bereits von dem Weisen<sup>259</sup> dargelegt und getadelt worden.<sup>260</sup>

## XI. Der Abschnitt über die Gewinnung von Vertrauen des Mädchens

1. Wer als ordentlicher Mensch das dreifache, ungeschmälerte Lebensziel<sup>261</sup> anstrebt, soll gemäß den Lehrbüchern [der Smṛti-Literatur] ein Mädchen heiraten, das der gleichen Kaste<sup>262</sup> angehört und sich zuvor keinem anderen Mann hingegeben hat. Mit Mädchen von niedrigerer oder höherer Herkunft gehen die Braven keine Ehe ein, wohnen sie nicht zusammen, schließen sie keine Freundschaft und dergleichen mehr.
2. Die schön ist wie ein Blatt von der blauen Wasserlilie<sup>263</sup> oder von goldfarbenem Glanz, an den Nägeln von Fingern und Zehen [durch gute Durchblutung] sanftrot und ebenso an den Augen, die über ein Paar gleich langer zarter Füße verfügt, wenig ißt und wenig schläft, deren Hände und Füße mit der Lotosblüte, dem Krug, dem Rad usw. gekennzeichnet sind,<sup>264</sup>
3. die keine rötliche Haupthaarsträhne und weder einen Hängebauch noch herabgezogene Mundwinkel hat: Ein solches Mädchen wird in den Regeln für das Brautwerben gepriesen als die Beste von Natur. Die aber außerhalb des Hauses weint, gähnt oder schläft, eine solche meiden die Weisen, die mit den Regeln für das Brautwerben

<sup>259</sup> Nämlich von Vātsyāyana im *Kāmasūtra* II,9.

<sup>260</sup> So ausschließlich hätte Kokkoka dies nicht formulieren dürfen. Nachdem Vātsyāyana sich über die unterschiedliche Haltung der Menschen in den einzelnen Landstrichen Indiens zum Mundverkehr geäußert hat, heißt es im *Kāmasūtra* II,9,34: 'Wegen der Meinungsverschiedenheit unter den Gelehrten und der Mehrdeutigkeit der religiösen Gesetzbücher soll man entsprechend den Gepflogenheiten der Gegend und nach der Natur und Veranlagung seiner selbst handeln; so urteilt Vātsyāyana.' Übrigens hat er hier vorwiegend die Fellatio, nicht den Cunnilingus, im Auge.

<sup>261</sup> D.h. *dharma*, *artha* und *kāma*.

<sup>262</sup> Obwohl *varṇa* eigentlich eine soziale Gruppe oder einen Stand bezeichnet, war in der Entstehungszeit des *Ratirahasya* das Kastenwesen bereits voll ausgebildet; die Übersetzung mußte diesem Umstand Rechnung tragen.

<sup>263</sup> Eine Lotosart.

<sup>264</sup> Es handelt sich um mystische Zeichen, die bei einer Frau als glückverheißend gelten.



vertraut sind.

4. In den Angelegenheiten der Brautwahl sind außerdem folgende Typen von Mädchen zu meiden: die den Namen von Bergen, Bäumen, Flüssen oder von Vögeln tragen; die einen übermäßig großen, verkümmerten, gebeugten oder plumpen Körper haben; deren Unterlippe zu weit herunterhängt; dann solche, die tief in den Höhlen liegende, rotbraune Augen sowie rauhe Hände und Füße besitzen;
5. aber auch solche, die selbst während des Essens seufzen, lachen oder weinen; die gar einen von oben herabgesunkenen Busen tragen oder einen Schnurrbart haben; oder die, deren Brüstepaar ungleich geformt ist; ferner Zwerginnen; solche, die Ohren wie Getreideschwingen haben; andere mit schlechtem Gebiß, rauher Stimme, langem Gesicht<sup>265</sup> und übergroßem Wuchs;
6. oder solche, die in der Welt der Lebemänner ihre Befriedigung finden; die an den Händen, an den Seiten,<sup>266</sup> in der Busengegend, auf dem Rücken, an den beiden Unterschenkeln, an der Oberlippe behaart sind; oder solche, bei deren Art zu gehen der Erdboden zittert; oder solche, von deren Wangen beim Lachen eine Woge herabfällt.<sup>267</sup>
7. Zu meiden sind aber auch solche, deren zweite<sup>268</sup> Zehe größer ist als ihre große Zehe<sup>269</sup> oder deren mittlere Zehe zu klein ist, oder bei denen die kleinste oder die vorletzte Zehe oder beide nicht bis auf den Boden kommen.<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Der dolichocephale Typus war im alten Indien alles andere als ein Schönheitsideal.

<sup>266</sup> Statt 'an den Händen, an den Seiten' ist vielleicht 'an den Handseiten' zu übersetzen.

<sup>267</sup> Auch diese Stelle kann man verschieden deuten. Mit der Woge kann durchaus ein Speichel- oder Tränenfluß gemeint sein. Dies ist wahrscheinlicher als die Annahme, Kokkoka habe die Bildung von Grübchen im Sinn gehabt.

<sup>268</sup> An dieser Stelle folgt die Übersetzung der Hindi-Version.

<sup>269</sup> In XIII,35 bemerkt Kokkoka, daß Frauen, deren zweite Zehe am linken Fuß länger als die große Zehe ist, zu den Dirnen zu zählen sind.

<sup>270</sup> Erst hiernach beginnt Kokkoka die Darlegung des eigentlichen Anliegens dieses Kapitels. Dabei knüpft er, wie er selbst in Vers 18 bemerkt, an die betreffenden Leitgedanken des *Kāmasūtra* an.

8. Dann, in der Hochzeitsnacht, soll er überhaupt nichts unternehmen. Denn innerhalb einer Zeitspanne von drei Nächten quält Beharrlichkeit die Jungvermählte. Drei Tage lang breche er also seinen keuschen Wandel nicht und betreibe mit ihr kein Spiel nach seinem Wunsch, ohne ihr Herz gefesselt zu haben.
9. Die von blumenzartem Körper sind, die Frauen, sie hassen die Methoden, welche Männer, die nicht ins Geheimnis der Liebeskunst eingedrungen sind, anwenden. Zuerst bringe er also seine Liebe über ihre Freundinnen zum Ausdruck. Darüber hinaus unternehme er nur das, was ihm die Rücksichtnahme ermöglicht.
10. Bei einem sehr jungen Mädchen, das man das erste Mal erlangt, erfolge das Vorgehen im Dunkeln, heißt es. Handelt es sich um eine vertraute junge Frau, geschieht es wenigstens im Geheimen. Für eine kleine Weile umarme er ihren Oberkörper und reiche ihrem Mund mit dem eigenen Mund eine Betelgabe.
11. Mit Zuneigungsbeteuerungen, freundlichen Reden, Fußfäßen und anderen Methoden der Gewinnung veranlasse er die Widerstrebende, die Gabe anzunehmen. Einen bedeutungsvollen, zärtlichen Kuß gebe er ihr in diesem Zusammenhang, und durch liebliche, sanfte Liebesworte mache er sie ihm verbunden.
12. Indem er sie gleichsam unwissend nach etwas fragt, das in wenigen Silben zu erklären ist, bedränge er sie, wenn sie keine Erwiderung verlauten läßt, noch mehr. 'Werde ich von dir geliebt, o Mädchen, oder nicht?' So befragt, möge sie anstelle einer Antwort den Kopf schütteln.
13. Wenn sie aber Zuneigung gefaßt und ihre Freundin allmählich in das Geheimnis eingeweiht hat, so möge sie lächelnd das Antlitz senken. 'Gesagt worden ist von ihm dieses und jenes; dir winkt beständiges Glück!'; das soll ihr einfühlsam die Freundin über den Liebsten sagen.
14. Ist die Rede der Freundin aber gar zu deutlich, spreche die junge Frau zu ihr: 'So etwas sage ich nicht!', doch mit begehrllicher Stimme, undeutlich, die Worte und Silben nur halb aussprechend. Doch wenn sich ihre Zuneigung entfaltet, bringt sie, darum gebeten, Betelnüsse, Blumen usw. herbei, die sie an seiner Jacke befestigen möge.
15. Dann berühre er ihre Busenknospen mit den Fingerspitzen und führe die Handfläche über ihre geheimste Stelle bis zum Nabel. Er



- ziehe sie aber wieder zurück, wenn sie sich sträubt,<sup>271</sup> und sage: 'O Schöngesichtige, ich will es nicht wieder tun, wenn es dir unangenehm ist!'
16. Nachdem er sie so auf sanfte Weise umgarnt und auf seinen Schoß gesetzt hat, verschmelze er immer mehr mit ihr und komme allmählich dazu zu sprechen: 'Mit Nagel- und Zahnspuren werde ich dich kennzeichnen, o Liebliche, und am eigenen Körper werde ich mir selbst eine solche Veränderung zufügen.'<sup>272</sup>
  17. "Von dir rührt das her!": Wenn ich das bekanntgebe; werde ich damit dich, o Schöngesichtige, vor der Schar deiner Freundinnen noch mehr beschämen.' Danach küsse er sie am ganzen Körper und streichele<sup>273</sup> spielerisch ihre Schenkel, bis sich allmählich ihre Schamhaftigkeit legt. Dann löse er ihr den Gürtel.
  18. Mit dem in angemessener Weise eingeführten Penis soll er sie schrittweise zum Entzücken führen, nachdem er auf liebevolle Weise ihre Scheu,<sup>274</sup> Unsicherheit und Abneigung beseitigt hat. So ist von mir zu dem tiefsten Geheimnis der Mädchen die Richtung angegeben worden gemäß der im Inhalt des *Kāmasūtra* gegebenen Anschauung.
  19. Weder durch übergroßes Entgegenkommen noch durch zu große Widersetzlichkeit erlangt man Erfolg bei den Mädchen.<sup>275</sup> Daher gewinne man sie auf dem Mittelweg.
  20. Wer das Entstehen der Liebe bei sich selbst und die Vermehrung der Leidenschaft bei den Frauen kennt und weiß, wie man das Vertrauen eines Mädchens gewinnt, der wird der Frauen Liebling.
  21. Wird ein Mädchen aber jählings von einem Mann, der keinen Zugang zu ihrem Gemüt gefunden hat, bedrängt, gerät es in Furcht,

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<sup>271</sup> An dieser Stelle tritt eine kleine Lücke auf, da der Text so korrupt ist, daß ihn auch der Kommentar nicht zu deuten vermag. Würde man der Frau das *samsṛja* des Textes in den Mund legen, ergäbe sich das Gegenteil von dem, was vom Kontext indiziert wird.

<sup>272</sup> Zu Einzelheiten vgl. die Abschnitte VIII und IX.

<sup>273</sup> Wie so häufig, müssen wir die nominale Konstruktion, wie sie das Sanskrit bevorzugt, mit einem Verb umschreiben.

<sup>274</sup> Im Text ist die Worttrennung falsch; es ist *sādhvasādhvāntaroṣe* zu lesen.

<sup>275</sup> Kokkoka geht nun zu einigen allgemeinen Gesichtspunkten über, die bei der Gewinnung eines Mädchens zu beachten sind.

Zittern, Aufregung und sofort auch in Haß.

22. Indem die Frau eine Liebesvereinigung nicht erlangt, wird sie durch diese Aufregung geschädigt. Entweder wird<sup>276</sup> sie den Mann mit Haß verfolgen oder selbst verhaßt sein und zu einem anderen gehen.

## XII. Der Abschnitt über die Gattin<sup>277</sup>

1. Nachdem die junge Frau jegliche Widerspenstigkeit abgelegt hat, verehere sie ihren Gebieter in der Rede, mit dem Herzen und mit dem Körper wie einen Schutzgott. Auf Veranlassung des Gatten kümmere sie sich um das Haus und die Wohnung und mache die Wohnstatt täglich ganz sauber und recht hübsch.
2. Zu den Lehrern, Freunden, Dienern und zur Verwandtenschar des Gatten verhalte sie sich, wie es sich gehört, frei von Hochmut und Tücke. Sie trage ein bescheidenes, weißes Kleid bei Spielen und Spaziergängen, ein reiches, rotgelbes zur Entzückung des Liebsten.
3. Im Garten pflanze sie Majoran, Navamālī (*Jasminum sambac*), Mālatī (*J. grandiflorum*), Kunda (*J. pubescens* oder *Nerium odorum*), Mallī,<sup>278</sup> Kräuter mit zarten Blüten und voll von Wohlgeruch, Bäume mit recht süßen Früchten, ferner Rettich, Flaschenkürbis (*Lagenaria siceraria*), Bhāṇḍa (*Thespesia populneoides*) usw., sodann Viṭapika<sup>279</sup> usw.
4. Niemals verkehre sie mit üblen Weibern, Hexen, Bettelnonnen,<sup>280</sup> mit Frauen, die mit Schauspielern und Lebemännern in Verbindung stehen, und nicht mit Wurzelzauberinnen. Indem sie überlegt: 'Das gefällt ihm und ist ihm bekömmlich, das aber nicht!', erfülle sie jeden Tag seine Essenswünsche.
5. Hat sie, wenn er kommt, seine Stimme gehört, so halte sie sich, zur Bedienung des Ankommenden bereit, in der Diele auf. Seine bei-

<sup>276</sup> Der Text bietet eine falsche Worttrennung; es ist *vā syād vidviṣṭā* zu lesen.

<sup>277</sup> Hierbei lehnt sich Kokkoka eng an den vierten Hauptteil des *Kāmasūtra* an.

<sup>278</sup> Mallī soll identisch mit Navamālī sein; Navamālī ist jedoch bereits erwähnt.

<sup>279</sup> Evtl. ist *viṭapaka* zu lesen; der Baum *Acacia catechu*.

<sup>280</sup> Damit sind buddhistische Nonnen gemeint, die von der einstigen moralischen Höhe der Ordensschwester tief herabgesunken waren und vielfach als Kupplerinnen galten.



- den Füße wasche sie ihm selbst. Wenn er zur Vergeudung des Besitzes neigt, ist er insgeheim zu ermahnen.<sup>281</sup>
6. Nur wenn sie dazu seine Erlaubnis erlangt hat, gehe sie irgendwohin aus.<sup>282</sup> Das Bett suche sie nach dem Gatten auf, erhebe sich aber noch vor ihm. Den Schlafenden verlasse<sup>283</sup> sie nicht.<sup>284</sup> Seine Andacht unterbreche sie nicht. Seine und auch die eigenen Gelübde und Satzungen befolge sie.
  7. An irgendwelchen geheimen Orten oder vor der Tür halte sie sich nicht lange auf. Sie gebrauche ihm gegenüber keinen unfreundlichen Ton. In einer spärlich besiedelten Gegend oder in einem Hain führe sie keine Gespräche. Und sie sehe keinen Mann ohne einen Grund zur Unterhaltung.
  8. Viele ordentlich gefertigte Töpfe<sup>285</sup> aus Holz, Ton, Leder und Eisen soll sie unter Beachtung des Zeitpunktes<sup>286</sup> zu niedrigen Preisen kaufen. Im Verborgenen lagere sie schwer erhältliche Arzneimittel. Ausgaben tätige sie, indem sie die Einnahmen mit aufmerksamem Sinn berücksichtigt.
  9. So kümmere sie sich um die Nutzung von Gras, Spreu, Korn, Brennholz, Kohlen und Asche, um den Einsatz der Dienerschaft, die Überwachung der Arbeit, die Aufbewahrung der vom Geliebten abgetragenen und weggelegten Kleidungsstücke und — bei Gelegenheit — die Beschenkung der Dienerschaft mit ihnen, die zuvor gereinigt wurden.<sup>287</sup>
  10. Außerdem befasse sie sich mit dem Unterhalt des Gesindes, mit Wagen und Vieh, mit der Sorge für Affen, Kuckucke, Papageien, Predigerkrähen und Kraniche. Gegenüber den Älteren<sup>288</sup> halte

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<sup>281</sup> Die Bloßstellung des Gatten in der Öffentlichkeit soll vermieden werden.

<sup>282</sup> Vgl. *Kāmasūtra* IV,1,15.

<sup>283</sup> *muñcet* ist wohl nicht richtig. Zutreffend ist eher *Kāmasūtra* IV,1,17, wo die Frau ermahnt wird, den schlafenden Gatten nicht zu wecken.

<sup>284</sup> Der Sinn kann aber auch sein: Seine Pläne verrate sie nicht.

<sup>285</sup> Oder: Geräte.

<sup>286</sup> Nämlich wenn die Preise möglichst niedrig sind.

<sup>287</sup> Eine notgedrungen freie Übersetzung; das Sanskrit ist hier, wie so oft, viel knapper als das Deutsche.

<sup>288</sup> Damit sind vorrangig die Schwiegereltern gemeint.

- sie Unterordnung und Zügelung der Rede, vermeide sie deutliches Lachen und beflleißige sie sich eines tugendhaften Wandels.
11. Die Nebenfrau betrachte sie besonnen als eine gleichgestellte Gefährtin in der Liebe und deren Nachkommenschaft wie die eigene.<sup>289</sup> Hat sich der Gatte irgendwohin auf Reisen begeben, trage sie ausschließlich glückbringende Schmuckstücke und ehre die Älteren und Brahmanen.
  12. [Während der Abwesenheit des Gatten] sei ihr Lager bei den Alten<sup>290</sup>. Ihre Ausgaben sollen nur geringfügig sein. Täglich versuche sie, eine Nachricht von ihm zu erlangen. Sie bemühe sich, von ihm unerledigt gelassene Arbeit zu vollenden. Für das Wohlergehen und den Erfolg [seiner Reise] vollziehe sie Gelübde und Riten.
  13. Während der Reise begeben sie sich ins Haus ihrer Verwandten nur in Begleitung einer anderen Person und halte sich dort nicht lange auf. Ist aber der Liebste zurückgekehrt, zeige sie ihre unveränderte Gestalt<sup>291</sup> auf einem Fest usw., bringe aber als erstes ein Opfer dar.<sup>292</sup>
  14. Wenn der Mann mehrere junge Frauen hat, behandle er sie alle gleich, verhalte sich höflich, dulde aber keine Vergehen. Über eine körperliche Mißbildung, ein den Geschlechtsverkehr betreffendes Geheimnis oder etwas in der Liebesraserei Geäußertes einer der Frauen
  15. tue er einer anderen nicht das Mindeste kund. Niemals mische er sich in die internen Angelegenheiten der Nebenfrauen ein. Wenn die eine über die Fehler einer anderen herzieht, so soll er sie dafür unter vier Augen mit geeigneten Worten tadeln. Er erfreue die Herzen der Frauen nach Gebühr durch Ausflüge in Parks, durch Liebe, Achtung und Geschenke.

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<sup>289</sup> Vgl. hierzu *Kāmasūtra* IV,2,4 und 7.

<sup>290</sup> Gewöhnlich die Schwiegereltern.

<sup>291</sup> Sie trage dieselben schlichten Gewänder wie zur Zeit seiner Abwesenheit.

<sup>292</sup> Als Dank an die Götter für die glückliche Heimgeleitung des Gatten.



## Apropos *Mallikā*

SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA

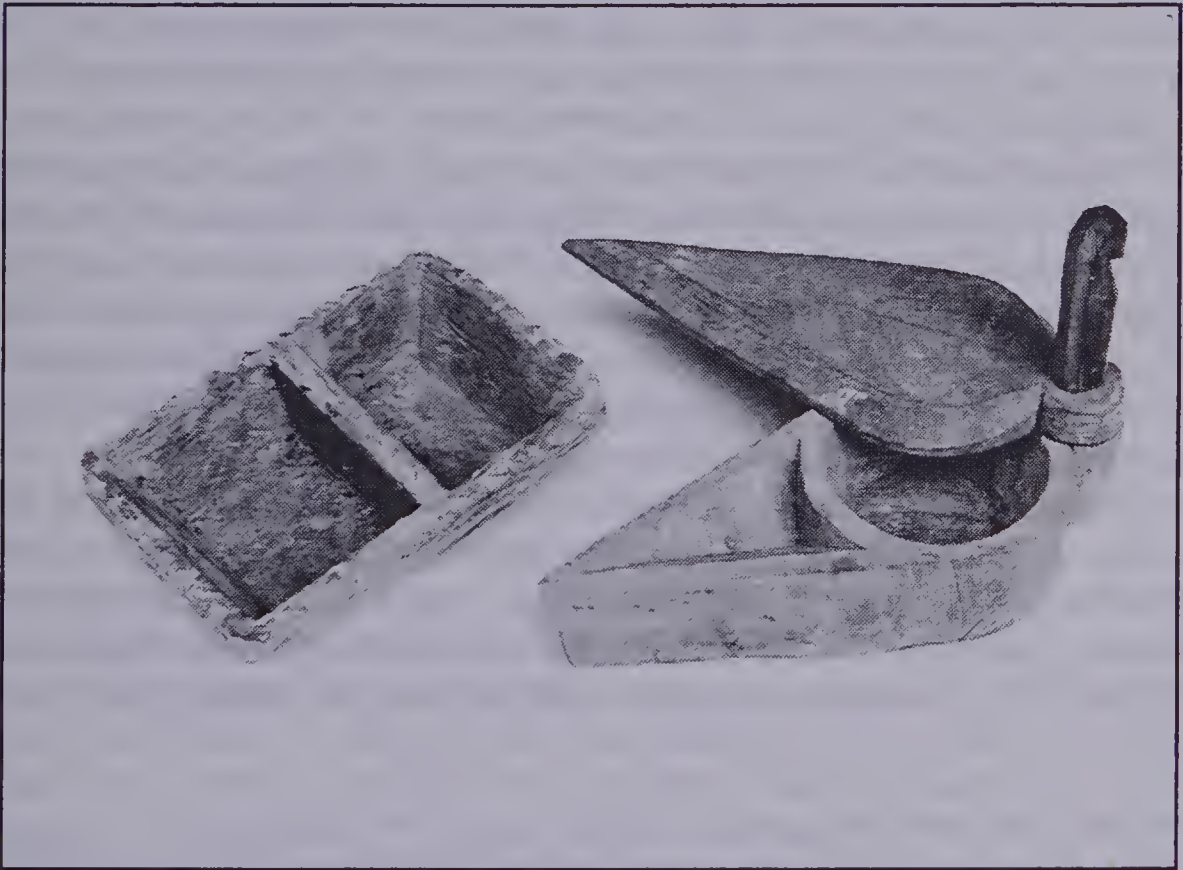
In my article '*Tr̥tīyakaḥ phenakaḥ*' (*Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 2.1992: 115-122) I argued that the Pīṭhamarda mentioned in *Kāmasūtra* 1.4.44 had the profession of applying *phenaka* to the Nāgaraka every third day: he rubbed the shanks and thighs of the man-about-town with a cuttlefish bone and made them smooth and hairless, which was considered auspicious/fashionable. Accordingly, the Pīṭhamarda's professional equipment consisted of three items: first, a cuttlefish bone (*phena* or *phenaka*), a soothing paste (*kaṣāya*) for applying after the depilatory activity, and thirdly a container for this paste (*mallikā*). I had further argued that the word *mallikā* survives in the term *maliyā*, which in eastern Uttar Pradesh even today denotes a wooden container for keeping the mustard paste which is applied to the limbs of small children every day for removing the excess hair. This wooden container, I stated, consists of two boat-shaped bowls hinged together; when closed, these form a hollow casket which can be suspended by means of a ring.

The information about the *maliyā* came from Mr. Jang Bahadur Singh. He has now brought two specimens of *maliyā* from the Balia district of eastern Uttar Pradesh. Their designs are different from the one I had earlier described. Apparently, that design is not produced any more. Even the two specimens I now have may soon be replaced by plastic tubes (with mustard paste produced by big companies according to "age-old recipes"). Therefore, the two designs which are still being produced deserve to be recorded before their complete disappearance.

The first one (on the left in the accompanying photograph) is an open wooden trough, wider at the top and tapering towards the bottom. At the top, it measures 18 × 11.5 cm and at the bottom 12 × 7.8 cm. Its height is 5.8 cm. The second one (on the right), shaped like a stylised bird, has a lid to cover the container. It measures 24.5 cm at the longest part. It has a maximum width of 10.2 cm and a height of 6.6 cm. Both vessels are partitioned to form two compartments, one for the dry mustard powder and the other for the mustard oil. The mother first takes a pinch of the powder from one compartment, moistens it with a pat of oil from the other and then applies the paste to the limbs of the baby. This she does every day at least during the first year.

The *maliyā* is one of the essential items parents give to the bride when she sets off to her husband's house. If the bride fails to bring a *maliyā* with her, the groom's family will consider her people quite uncultured.

We have seen that the commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* derives the word *mallikā* from the root *√mal(l)* "to hold." But it is more likely that *mallikā* is a hyper-Sanskrit formation from Middle Indo-Aryan *maliyā*, from the Prakrit *√mal* = Sanskrit *√mṛd* "to rub" (cf. Hemacandra 4.126; Vararuci 8.50; Pischel 244).





## Paths Straight and Crooked to Indian Medical Knowledge\*

RAHUL PETER DAS

The contents of this book consist mostly of papers first presented at a conference on 'Permanence and Change in Asian Medical Systems', part of the 1985 meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington. Some of the contributions were subsequently published in journals and books and are presented here in a revised form, while other contributions have been printed for the first time. In their introduction, the editors write that 'these essays have been selected to focus on a particular set of interests: the sources and modalities of medical knowledge' (pp.13f.).

The collection is divided into three parts: 'Chinese Medicine, Cosmopolitan Medicine, and Other Traditions in East Asia', 'Āyurveda, Cosmopolitan Medicine, and Other Traditions in South Asia', and 'Islamic Humoral Traditions'.<sup>1</sup> Because of its being beyond the abilities of this reviewer to comment on the other two parts, and also because of the particular focus of this journal, this review will be confined to the second part, on medicine in South Asia.

The first essay in this section, Margaret Trawick's 'Death and Nurture in Indian Systems of Healing' (pp.129-159), gives rise to rather mixed feelings. Its title is a misnomer, and a further example of a disturbing tendency found in many modern studies, particularly, but not only, of North American scholars with sociological, anthropological or

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\* A Review of: *Paths to Asian Medical Knowledge*. Edited by Charles Leslie and Allan Young. University of California Press: Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford 1992. (Comparative Studies of Health Systems and Medical Care [32].) ISBN 0-520-07317-7 (hardcover) and 0-520-07318-5 (paperback). x;296 pp.

<sup>1</sup> The terms 'cosmopolitan medicine' and 'biomedicine', used synonymously in this work, describe what is variously known as 'Western', 'scientific' and 'modern' medicine, labels which are today considered unsatisfactory by many. Note also Leslie's remark on p.6 that 'perhaps "cosmopolitan medicine" can be retained as a synonym of biomedicine when an author wants the connotation that the ideology and institutional forms of biomedicine are part of the capitalist world-system.'

ethnological leanings, of an attempt to inflate the evidence of their research: data collected from a circumscribed, often rather small, area is uncritically taken to be representative of a much larger area, as is evident from various titles of studies on 'India' or 'South Asia' which actually give us data from only certain parts of this, very often from only a few villages and sometimes even from one single village. In this case too, the data collected by Trawick comes only from some parts of Tamil Nadu, and cannot serve as evidence for what the title of the study promises. Actually, what Trawick here presents us with is a study of the interaction and at times antagonism of four different systems, of relevance to what we tend to call 'medicine', in the area under study, with particular regard to how they cope with illness and death.

The uncritical projection of data from this circumscribed sphere onto one larger has led to some methodical errors. Trawick seems to be unaware of the fact that 'Āyurveda' is no registered trade mark and as such can be used by different groups or individuals in very different senses. Thus what she presents here as 'Āyurveda', with no further qualification, is clearly not what the classical Indologist dealing with the *Vṛddhatrayī* deals with; though both systems are obviously linked, they are not the same, and thus the one cannot simply — and naïvely — be taken uncritically to explain the other. This is already clear from the very first page of Trawick's essay, where she says, seemingly without even being aware of the discrepancy to the "classical" texts of the *Vṛddhatrayī*,<sup>2</sup> that Āyurveda 'is said to have been originally given to humanity by Śiva' (p.129). True, here she refers to 'modern Āyurveda', but even that does not make things better, for what she clearly means is not pan-Indian modern Āyurveda (whatever this vague entity may actually be), but a specific local variety, clearly influenced, as the mention of Śiva shows, by South Indian Śaivism and/or concepts of a pan-Indian nature from the realm of what is generally labelled 'Tantrism'.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, she also makes no allowance for the efforts of modern practitioners consciously to seek links with the "classical" tradi-

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<sup>2</sup> Seemingly consulted by Trawick in the form of translations which are known not always to be reliable.

<sup>3</sup> This is not to deny that some Āyurvedic texts, especially of a late date, show influence of what is called Tantrism (cf. e.g. note 6 on p.231 below), but such texts are not the rule.



tion, even though historically these may in actual fact be tenuous.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, Siddha medicine is treated more or less as an isolated phenomenon, though Trawick does, rather obliquely, hint at some doubts she entertains in this regard.<sup>5</sup> She pays no attention to pan-Indian Siddha cults, which even extend well into Central Asia, to the many similarities the Tamil Siddha system seems to show with systems, usually called 'Tantric', in other parts of South Asia, and with Rasaśāstra and Yoga systems; she also does not take into account the fact that parts of the most basic vocabulary of Tamil Siddha medicine consist of Sanskrit expressions common to Āyurvedic works. In doing so, she seems unconsciously to have aligned herself to accord with the tenets of Tamil political correctness.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, trance-healing through Māriyamman (also Māriyammai), the goddess of smallpox, is quite divorced from the wider background of similar goddesses in many parts of South Asia (one springing to mind at once being Śītālā). Here too, as in the case of Siddha medicine, a pure Tamil background seems to be presupposed. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> we cannot afford to neglect Sanskrit *māri-* (also *māri-*) "(wide-spread) killing/death; pestilence", which is also the name of (a) goddess(es) of pestilence and the like, and therefore should examine carefully whether the Tamil name of the goddess is not actually nothing

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<sup>4</sup> On problems such as those detailed here see e.g. Rahul Peter Das, 'On the Nature and Development of "Traditional Indian Medicine"', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3.1993, pp.56-71. See also the remarks on p.155,n.38 of Maarten Bode, 'Empirie en dogma in een Ayurvedische praktijk in Kathmandu. Een pleidooi voor verlicht etnocentrisme in de medische antropologie', *Medische Antropologie* 7.1995, pp.140-157. (Incidentally, Bode concludes on the basis of his data: 'Medisch antropologen moeten, uit angst om van etnocentrisme te worden beticht, niet-westers medisch handelen niet bij voorbaat legitimeren. Verlicht etnocentrisme behoedt niet-westers medisch handelen voor de wurgende omhelzing van het voorbarig begrip.')

<sup>5</sup> P.131: 'Basing their arguments on this body of poetry, proponents of Tamil ethnic pride claim Siddha medicine as a distinctly Tamil medical system, set apart from Āyurveda.'

<sup>6</sup> A very recommendable recent study on the Tamil Siddhas, by a Tamil scholar who, striving for objectivity, has refused to toe this line (and has hence come into the line of fire of Tamil chauvinists), is R. Venkatraman, *A History of the Tamil Siddha Cult*. Madurai 1990.

<sup>7</sup> *Indo-Iranian Journal* 27.1984, p.324.

but the Tamil form of the Sanskrit name, with 'Mother' (*amman*, *am-mai*) added; indeed, Miron Winslow's Tamil-English dictionary presents us with this analysis unhesitatingly.<sup>8</sup> In his essay in the work under review, Mark Nichter not only draws attention to the belief in *Māri(yam-man)* (I am sticking to the Tamil form of the name) in South India outside the Tamil area, but also refers to her as a 'pan-Indian' deity (pp.235;238). Of course it would be extremely naïve to assume that an ultimately Indo-Aryan name, should it indeed be proved to be present here, would automatically entail identicalness of character with North Indian goddesses too, but at the very least it would show points of connection and contact, whether actual or only supposed by those who first used this nomenclature, and should serve to make us be very careful in drawing conclusions and "interpreting" the data.

In this context I may also point out that pre-colonial variolation (i.e. inoculation against smallpox) was not, as p.132 seems to assume, something special to the Tamil region. In fact, it was in vogue not only in many other parts of South Asia, but also in other parts of the Orient; the technique was brought to Europe from Istanbul at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Since we cannot simply assume that in *all* those other areas variolation was associated with a smallpox goddess, and that, even in cases of association with a smallpox goddess, the notions pertaining to this were all the same, the speculations of Trawick that 'this practice was related to a religious ideology permitting the goddess-mediated mingling of bodily fluids of people of different communities' (p.132), i.e. is in keeping with the 'defiance of caste and sexual hierarchies' (p.131) she associates with *Māriyamman*, is another example of a sweeping — and in this case quite clearly misleading — statement with far-reaching consequences based on very meagre data.<sup>9</sup>

One could point out various other inaccuracies or unreflected statements throughout the essay, for instance on the nature of 'religion', or

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<sup>8</sup> All Trawick has to say on the name is, instead (p.154): 'Thus the name *Māriamman*, according to the medium, means "the changed mother."'

<sup>9</sup> Inoculation is not the same as vaccination. On vaccination in India see especially Dominik Wujastyk, 'A Pious Fraud': The Indian claims for pre-Jennerian smallpox vaccination', *Studies on Indian Medical History. Papers presented at the International Workshop on the Study of Indian Medicine held at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine 2-4 September 1985*. Edited by G. Jan Meulenbeld and Dominik Wujastyk. Groningen 1987 (Groningen Oriental Studies 2), pp.131-167.



on the philosophical background of "classical" Āyurvedic texts, but it does not seem necessary to go into such detail here, as I hope to have demonstrated sufficiently that its contents have to be taken not only *cum grano salis*, but with a largish lump of salt. Nevertheless, it offers us some very interesting data and also insights into how the three systems mentioned, as well as Tamil Śaiva Bhakti, coexist in the area studied. One wishes that Trawick had given us more of such data, or else largely confined herself to presenting it, without plunging into giving interpretations and drawing conclusions based only on an imperfect realisation of the complex issues involved here.

In 'Science, Experimentation, and Clinical Practice in Āyurveda' (pp.160-176), Gananath Obeyesekere examines how a modern Āyurvedic practitioner in Sri Lanka works, how he correlates his actions with the theories he subscribes to and traditions he has learnt, varying, adding and deleting, even against the tradition, according to the exigencies of the individual case, and also striving to find new paths when confronted with situations which his acquired knowledge actually does not envisage. According to Obeyesekere, this shows that not only this Āyurveda, a 'special kind of Āyurvedic practice that, I believe, took root in Sri Lanka among its more sophisticated physicians and the traditions they represented' (p.174), but Āyurveda in general is 'a science of medicine. And, like its Western counterpart, the development of a scientific attitude in Āyurveda presupposes either a demystification of magic, or its methodological isolation from clinical practice' (p.172),<sup>10</sup> evident especially in its acceptance of the principle of 'clinical falsification', in contrast to what he calls ritual curing (p.172).<sup>11</sup> This has led the editors to ask in their introduction to this part of the book (pp.127f.): 'But if this is so, what are we to make of the fact that publishing and studying case histories ... is a central path to knowledge in Chinese medicine, while this is not true for Āyurvedic literature?'

Charles Leslie, in his contribution entitled 'Interpretations of Illness: Syncretism in Modern Āyurveda' (pp.177-208), first gives an overview of the historical development of the syncretism between Āyurveda

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<sup>10</sup> P.175 also refers to a 'special kind of empiricism that underlies much of Āyurveda'.

<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, Āyurvedic practitioners interviewed by Trawick expressed similar opinions (pp.147-149).

and 'cosmopolitan' (cf. note 1) medicine, especially of the struggle between advocates of the syncretistic form ('integrationists' in Leslie's terminology) and advocates of a "pure" Āyurveda. The former came especially from Bengal,<sup>12</sup> but were also able to influence prominent South Indian practitioners, whereas the latter came especially from western and north-western India — an antagonism found, I may add, in the spheres of religion and politics too. The development of a syncretistic tradition and the prominent role practitioners from Bengal played in it has, incidentally, already been duly noted by Arion Roşu<sup>13</sup> (to whom Leslie unfortunately does not refer). After this historical outline, Leslie gives examples to show how medical syncretism and pluralism work in practice.

In 'Gentle Purge: The Flower Power of Āyurveda' (pp.209-223), Francis Zimmermann takes issue with the notion that Āyurveda is somehow a 'nonviolent' form of treatment and as such more 'natural' than what he calls 'modern scientific' medicine. Zimmermann highlights the ideological underpinnings of these notions, both in India and the West, and pays special attention to modern Western ideologies that serve as a vehicle for the propagation of such notions outside South Asia.<sup>14</sup> As the editors put it: 'Zimmermann traces the consequences of commodification as Āyurvedic companies and sanatoria modify theories and practices to exploit a market for alternative forms of health care' (p.128). In this connexion he also draws attention to the role of the

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<sup>12</sup> This is not surprising, given the intense contact between Indian and European culture in this region, which was until the early part of this century the nerve centre of British India; the development paralleled that in other walks of life.

<sup>13</sup> 'Le renouveau contemporain de l'Āyurveda', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie* 26.1982, pp.59-82. On the "professionalisation" of Āyurveda see also Ronald Kaiser, *Die Professionalisierung der ayurvedischen Medizin und deren Rolle im indischen Medizinpluralismus*. Bonn 1992 (Kölner Ethnologische Arbeitspapiere 3).

<sup>14</sup> 'This modern version of Āyurveda appeals to an ideal also shared by environmentalists in which the soft, the gentle, the harmless, the cool, the refreshing, and the natural are qualities rooted in the soil, in the cycle of the seasons (which is praised as manifesting spiritual values that elude an economic calculus), and inscribed in the fabric of life itself, that is, in the vital fluids of humoral physiology. Nonviolence is thus akin to humoralism. Far from being obsolete, the humoral concept of temperamental fluid is revived in our modern partiality for environmentalism and holistic medicine' (p.209).



Transcendental Meditation movement of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, which has recently been scrutinised extremely critically in this journal.<sup>15</sup> This image of 'nonviolence' is according to Zimmermann projected especially through the abandonment of the important traditional practice of often quite violent evacuation (such evacuation being an important pillar of "classical" Āyurveda), and by changing the accompanying theory: 'Only recently, under the influence of Western anatomical thinking, the Hindu fluid conception of the human person which pervades Āyurveda gave way to a Western concept of physical therapy in which the solid parts of the body play the title role' (p.212).

The case Zimmermann presents seems convincing. Subsequently, however, he adds what is basically an appendix: 'Operative Medicine in the Indo-European Triad' (pp.218ff.). His main thesis here is developed first by a reference to 'the ideal synthesis', exemplified in the Latin work of Celsus, who draws attention to similar Greek notions, 'of medical knowledge, in which dietetics, pharmaceutics, and surgery represented three therapeutical methods for one and the same art. This is no news to medical historians in the West. What has remained unnoticed, however, is that the very same division appears in Āyurvedic Sanskrit texts. The trifunctional division of medicine is common to both Greece and India' (p.218). Ultimately, this division is traced back to Indo-European times.

Zimmermann adduces *Carakasamhitā*, Vimānasthāna 7,14f. and *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Sūtrasthāna 12,3f.<sup>16</sup> as evidence for his claim on Āyurvedic Sanskrit texts made above. However, not only are these passages problematic, but their relation to the postulated trifunctional division too is debatable. The *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* passage at first seems clear enough: therapeutics (*auśadha-*) is of three kinds. But the actual nomenclature in the subsequent list is problematic, for, though the first member, namely extraction (*apakarṣaṇa-*), and the last member, namely avoidance of the causes (*nidānatyāga-*), are clear, the second member of the list is not. Zimmermann has *prakṛtivighāta-*, which he translates as

<sup>15</sup> Dieter von Schmädel, 'Ayurveda — Quo vadis? Maharishi Ayur-Veda — Fortschritt oder Sackgasse?', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3.1993, pp.229-249.

<sup>16</sup> In the edition he used. The edition used by me (of the Sūtrasthāna by Govardhanasharma Chhangane, Varanasi 1991 <The Kashi Sanskrit Series 157>) has the text on p.138.

‘dissolution of the basic factor’ (p.219). The edition used by me, however, reads *prakṛtividhāna*- ‘measures according to the nature [of the individual at the time]’, and in the given context this too makes eminent sense. But a variant has *prakṛtivyighāte* (in the place of *prakṛtividhānam*); since *m* and superscribed *e*, *dh* and *gh*, and *n* and *t* can be confused in several Indian scripts, it is difficult to reach a conclusion regarding the correct reading here. True, the *Carakasamhitā* passage has *prakṛtivyighāta*-, and the edition of this text I used does not give any variants, but I would hesitate to determine on this ground alone the reading of the *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* passage without further close examination of the readings of both texts.

Nevertheless, it is clear that both passages are related in their terminology and basically in their explanation of this, though the latter passage brings in subdivisions of each of the members of the list which the former passage does not know. But that is where the similarities end, for, whereas the *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* passage remarks on therapeutics in general, the *Carakasamhitā* passage expressly applies its division *only* to the therapy of internal parasites. What is even more important is that the *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* passage gives us the division cited as an alternative for another three-fold division of therapeutics, namely the well-known division of *auśadha*- into *daivavyapāśraya*-, *yuktivyapāśraya*- and *sat-tvāvajaya*-.<sup>17</sup> But the passage corresponding to this in the *Carakasamhitā*, Sūtrasthāna 11,54f. (i.e., in quite different a part of the text), knows nothing of the alternative division the *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* mentions; what we find there instead is, beside *daivavyapāśraya*- etc., the following alternative division<sup>18</sup> (11,55):

‘In the case of excitement of the morbid elements of the body, [the authorities] generally desire, as one knows, a three-fold therapy having recourse to the body alone: internal purification, external purification and the application of instruments. With regard to that, internal purification is that therapy which, entering within the body, removes the illnesses arisen

<sup>17</sup> Regarding these terms, I would like to draw attention to the debate I had with Eckard Wolz-Gottwald on the pages of this journal: *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 2.1992, pp.158-187, and 3.1993, pp.305-318.

<sup>18</sup> The commentator Cakrapāṇidatta: *samprati prakārāntareṇopayuktaṁ bheṣajatraividhyam āha*.



due to food. Again, that which, having recourse externally to the touch (i.e. organ of touch, the skin?), removes illnesses through inunction, sudation, poultices, affusions, massages etc., is external purification. And again, the application of instruments is cutting up/removing, cleaving/breaking, piercing, splitting, lancing, extirpation, scarification, stitching, probing, caustics and leeches.<sup>19</sup>

It is most interesting to see that parts of this passage are to be found in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* passage cited by Zimmermann too. On the basis of this evidence, I cannot but gain the impression that what we have in the latter passage is an attempt at creating a new theory claiming general validity by combining different statements found in older texts and in other contexts. Now this is a review, and hence I cannot examine the matter in detail here, but can only state a first impression. Nevertheless, this alone should make us be wary of simply taking the passages cited as evidence of a tripartite division going back to Indo-European times.

Moreover, the tripartite division Émile Benveniste and, following him, others postulated for Indo-European times is treatment with words, plants and the knife, a classification found in Iranian and in Greek and recently drawn attention to again by Ronald Eric Emmerick.<sup>20</sup> Zimmermann simply links the division which he claims to be characteristic of Indian medicine to this division by saying that their evident disagreement is due to a sort of secularisation of the Indian system; in doing so he is very obviously also trying to link the tripartition of Celsus to both the Indo-European and the Indian division. This is done apodictically, and hence is methodically most unsound.

I shall not complicate matters by trying to remark on the accuracy of Benveniste's theory on the tripartite division of medicine in Indo-European; Zimmermann simply accepts it, and so did I in an earlier

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<sup>19</sup> *śarīradoṣaprakope khalu śarīram evāśritya prāyaśas trividham auśadham icchanty antahparimāṛjanam bahihparimāṛjanam śāstrapraṇidhānam ceti. tatrāntahparimāṛjanam yad antaḥ śarīram anupraviśyauśadham āhārajātavyādhīn pramārṣti. yat punar bahiḥ sparśam āśrityābhyāṅgasvedapradehapariṣekonmardanādyair āmayān pramārṣti tad bahihparimāṛjanam. śāstrapraṇidhānam punaś chedanabhedanavyadhanadāraṇalekhanotpāṭanapracchanasīvanaiṣaṇakṣārajalaūkasaś ceti.*

<sup>20</sup> Pp.74f. of 'Indo-Iranian Concepts of Disease and Cure', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3.1993, pp.72-93.

article.<sup>21</sup> I must however point out that this theory has not gained acceptance in all quarters, or at least not without certain reservations.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, attention should also be drawn to the fact that there was also a fourfold classification of therapeutics in India.<sup>23</sup> But these are relatively minor matters compared to what I consider to be a fundamental deficiency, namely Zimmermann's efforts to incorporate his tripartite division of therapeutics within the framework of Georges Dumézil's trifunctional division of Indo-European society without even pausing to consider the worth of Dumézil's theory. For it should be common knowledge that, though this theory is widely accepted (especially in France and North America), it is equally widely not accepted, but seen rather as a Procrustean fabrication whose aim is not so much to explain ancient society as to cope with problems perceived in the modern world through a biased interpretation of ancient times.<sup>24</sup> This is, of course, not the proper forum for a discussion of the merits or demerits of Dumézil's theory; my only intention in mentioning the matter here is to draw attention to the fact that the subject is controversial, and to append a plea that we as scholars should strive to view a subject from all angles, even if that should mean going against our convictions or playing the *advocatus diaboli*, and try to avoid falling in love with theories that appeal to us — love, as everyone knows, tends to be blind.

The last essay in this part is Mark Nichter's 'Of Ticks, Kings, Spirits, and the Promise of Vaccines' (pp.224-253). It describes how

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<sup>21</sup> See *Indo-Iranian Journal* 27.1984, pp.235f.

<sup>22</sup> On this see Kenneth G. Zysk, 'Reflections on an Indo-European Healing Tradition', *Perspectives on Indo-European Language, Culture and Religion. Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé. Volume II*. McLean, Virginia 1992 (Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph 9), pp.321-336.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *loc.cit.* in note 21, as well as p.310,n.49 of Albrecht Wezler, 'On the Quadruple Division of the Yogaśāstra, the Caturvyūhatva of the Cikitsāśāstra and the "Four Noble Truths" of the Buddha (Studies in the Pātāñjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa II)', *Indologica Taurinensia* 12.1984, pp.289-337.

<sup>24</sup> In this connexion cf. the scathing criticism of a German author I quoted in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111.1991, p.738,n.4. Attention may also be drawn to Zysk, who, while accepting Dumézil's theory, nevertheless writes: 'Mesmerised by the novelty of Indo-European tripartitism distracting the troubled minds of Paris intellectuals during the early 1940s, Benveniste perhaps leapt too quickly to conclusions indicative of the tripartite ideology' (*op.cit.* in note 22, p.327).



Kyasanur forest disease spread in a Tulu speaking part of Karnataka due to deforestation preparatory to intensive plantation agriculture, and how the villagers attempted to cope with this deadly epidemic through the means not only of modern medical resources, both Āyurvedic and allopathic, but also of more traditional local methods such as the propitiation of spirits and other supernatural agents, as well as through other means. We learn how the spread of disease was explained as the result of multiple causes stemming from different systems of belief and treatment, i.e. how these explanations were syncretistic, in the same way as a large part of the treatment was.<sup>25</sup> We also learn that often the choices leading to the rejection of one sort and the acceptance of another sort of treatment were made quite hard-headedly, though out of motives which modern Westerners might find hard to understand.<sup>26</sup> Nichter also lets us know private practitioners' responses to the epidemic, paying special attention to one practitioner who seems to have played it by ear and thus managed to keep his treatment in line with the expectations of his patients and their beliefs, in the process gaining great respect and popularity (pp.243f.). A side effect of the epidemic has been to promote local self-help groups and community activists who have also taken up environmental issues. 'Ritual activity in the region as a whole has also increased' (p.247); this is partly the result of a rediscovery, in the face of this crisis, of traditional beliefs and actions which social changes had already obliterated to a large extent. In the context of this revival, a misprint in a table of mortality statistics on p.227 could be taken to make rather macabre sense: 'Other cases reported not leading to morality'.

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<sup>25</sup> The parallels to similar developments in other spheres of South Asian life are too obvious to need comment.

<sup>26</sup> Thus on p.241 we learn, for instance: 'In a context where the death rate inside the hospital appeared to be no lower than that outside the hospital, villagers debated the merits of sending the afflicted to the hospital against the demerits of having a family member die at the hospital. An unsatisfied spirit, *preyta*, caused by a bad death in hospital, is believed to trouble kinsmen. The need to appease such a spirit through expensive rituals would have to be weighed against the family's subsistence needs. Some families, after considering risk, decided against hospitalization. They looked beyond death to the well-being of the spirit and the family. The cultural concept of a good death is little appreciated by biomedical practitioners.' The last line is bound to strike a chord, though for quite different reasons, in many in the industrialised countries dissatisfied with the often inhumane artificial prolongation of life in their hospitals.

## Where is the *Romarāji*?

SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA

This volume (bound together with vol. IX: *Rules and Remedies in Classical Indian Law*, ed. Julia Leslie) contains six of the articles presented in the Workshop No. 19 during the Seventh World Sanskrit Conference at Leiden in 1987.

Written by well known authorities, these papers offer fascinating glimpses of inter-relationships between the medical literatures of India, Sri Lanka and Tibet. Three of the contributions are devoted to Indian medical literature. P. V. Sharma, who is currently editing Niścalakara's *Ratnaprabhā* commentary on Cakrapāṇidatta's *Cikitsāsaṅgraha*, offers much new information on this commentary (pp. 107-112). In 'Aṣṭāṅga-saṅgraha, Kalpasthāna I: Translation and Notes' (pp. 113-137), Kenneth G. Zysk provides a preliminary translation with annotations on the basis of all the available editions and parallel versions; the translations of the remaining chapters of the *Kalpasthāna* of this text are, incidentally, appearing in regular succession on the pages of this journal. G. Jan Meulenbeld argues that blood occupied a more prominent position in the nosological theory prior to the *tridoṣavāda* (pp. 91-106). Jinadasa Liyanaratane surveys 'Sinhalese Medical Manuscripts in Paris' (pp. 73-90) as part of a research project on the history of medical literature in Sri Lanka. Of the six manuscripts discussed here, three are related to northern Indian classical Āyurveda and the other three contain both Āyurveda and Siddha elements; the latter probably composed by Tamils settled in Sri Lanka. Indian classical medicine did not know pulse reading (*Nāḍīparīkṣā*), but this is said to be one of the pillars of Tibetan medicine. The standard Tibetan treatise entitled *Rgyud bži* or 'Four Tantras' deals with this subject in the first chapter of the last book. In 'Some Remarks on Sphygmology' (pp. 66-72), R.E. Emmerick discusses

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\* A Review of: *Medical Literature From India, Sri Lanka and Tibet*. Edited by G. Jan Meulenbeld. E.J. Brill: Leiden/New York/København/Köln 1991. (Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Kern Institute, Leiden: August 23—29, 1987, Vol. VIII.) ISBN 90-04-09522-5. 137 pp. Hfl. 120.00.



the problems in translating some of these verses.

The first paper, by Rahul Peter Das, entitled 'The *romarāji*- in Indian Kāvya and Āyurvedic Literature', is also the longest: it occupies nearly half of this volume (pp. 1-65). If the review concentrates on this paper for a detailed discussion, this is not to minimise the importance of other contributions. Das's paper spans two disciplines and raises an important issue about the conventions in Sanskrit poetry which deserves to be widely noticed.

One of the several signs of puberty in both boys and girls is that a thin line of hair grows from the pubic region towards the navel. In the case of men it even extends upwards beyond the navel and appears prominently in hirsute men. But not so in women. There it stops at the navel, and even if it extends above this, it is so faint that it is rarely visible. Nor is the line ever invested with any special significance in practical life. But in Sanskrit poetry, attention is paid to this line of hair on the female body, which is called *romarāji*. On examining a number of Sanskrit Kāvya, Das found that a majority of them place this line of hair above the navel. In this highly thought-provoking paper, Das first draws our attention to the dichotomy between the reality (below the navel) and the poetic convention (above the navel), and then tries to understand why Sanskrit poetry locates it at the wrong place.

For this purpose, Das has collected from various anthologies some sixty-two passages that describe the *romarāji* (pp.10f.) and analysed some of these in great detail. In order to find a rationale for the anomaly in the poetic convention, Das drew into consideration a formidable array of texts on Āyurveda, Sāmudrikaśāstra, Śilpaśāstra, lexicography, Buddhist and Jaina hagiographies and so on. This material shows that the *romarāji* we are here concerned with first appears in the descriptions of the Mahāpuruṣa, i.e. ideal male, in Jaina texts. In these descriptions the *romarāji* is said to have a certain ideal form and is placed below the navel. Later on the *romarāji* is gradually transferred to the description of females.

The medical texts also speak of the *romarāji* primarily in connection with the male body as the line of hair below the navel (p.34), but 'whether they presuppose such a growth on the female body too ... is a matter of speculation' (p.40). These texts, however, mention the *romarāji* on the female body as one of the several signs of pregnancy. But here too problems occur. Some texts, like *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Śārīrasthāna

1.51, enumerate *romarājyāḥ prakāśanam*<sup>1</sup> ‘the *romarāji* becoming very distinct’ as one of the signs of pregnancy. As against this, some texts speak of *romarājyudgama* [sudden] growth of the *romarāji*. Das rightly observes that if this is something newly produced by pregnancy, it cannot be the line of hair we have been talking of so far. What is meant is possibly the *linea nigra*, a dark pigmentation said to occur in the case of pregnancy (§§ 71f.).

But none of these texts offers any justification for the *romarāji* running from the navel up to the breasts and the author is forced to conclude that this is ‘a particularly glaring example of how a poetic tradition divorced from reality may not only develop, but also be transmitted blindly over the centuries’ (p.52).

Das must be congratulated for this pioneering study. But I feel that there is still more to be extracted from the Kāvya passages cited by him. This will not ultimately alter his deductions on the *romarāji* in different literary genres in general, but it will help us gain a better focus on the poetic conventions. The problem I would particularly like to tackle here is that of descriptions of the *romarāji* situated *below* the navel in Kāvya literature. According to Das, only Kālidāsa describes such a *romarāji*. In my opinion, however, at least two other of the poets cited by Das, as well as another poet he has not cited, do so too.

At the outset, Das states (p.9) that he has collected most of the Kāvya passages from anthologies. I am quite aware of the difficulty of searching through the haystack of Sanskrit poetry for the needle of the *romarāji*. However, anthologies arrange the verses topic-wise but torn from the context. And this had the unfortunate effect of making Das in most, though not all, cases neglect the common convention in Sanskrit poetry of describing the female body in a linear sequence from the feet up to the hair (*padādikeśāntavarṇana*) or in the reverse order (*keśādi-padānta*).<sup>2</sup> In his study of Jaina texts, however, Das has taken the

<sup>1</sup> On *Raghuvamśa* 3.2, Mallinātha cites a similar stanza from Vāhaṭa:  
*śarīrasādādigarbhakṣaṇe vāhaṭaḥ.*

*kṣāmatā garimā kukṣer mūrcchā chardir arocakam*  
*jṛmbhā prasekaḥ sadanam romarājyāḥ prakāśanam.*

<sup>2</sup> In his *Alaṅkāraśekhara* (ed. Anantarāma Śāstrī Vetāl, Benares 1927), Keśava Mīśra on p.60 quotes an anonymous authority to the effect that humans should be described from the head downwards and gods from the feet upwards (*mānavā maulito varṇyā devās caraṇataḥ punaḥ*), but this rule is observed only in its breach. Thus in the



sequence of description into account (pp.46f.)

While celebrating the female body, poets take a slow excursion, as it were, over its whole length, stopping at each station to admire the sights. Whether ascending or descending, the poets rarely deviate from the sequence. In such linear descriptions, the *romarāji* is one of the stations which the poet utilises for the employment of his wit and poetic flourish. We do not know precisely when this convention started, but soon it seems to have become almost the only mode of describing a woman.<sup>3</sup> Handbooks on poetry supplied the stock phrases to be used and lesser poets completed the obligatory *strīvarṇana* in a mechanical fashion. The convention reached its culmination in the Hindi poetry of the Rīti-school (between approximately A.D. 1643 and 1857), where a new genre developed under the designation *Nakh-sikh*. A parallel style in Urdu is called *Sar-ā-pā*.<sup>4</sup> These poems just consist of some witty or clever sayings on each of the successive stations without any connecting link.

It should also be stressed that the poets usually describe the *romarāji* only as one of the several steps in the linear description, but never the *romarāji* alone.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, if one is looking in a Kāvya for a statement about the absolute or relative location of the *romarāji*, one must read the entire linear description, and not just the verses on the *romarāji*; verses culled from anthologies, bereft of the context, may not

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*Saundaryalaharī*, attributed to the great Śaṅkara, the goddess is described from the head downwards (vv.1-47), whereas Bilhaṇa employs the reverse order for the heroine in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (8.6ff.).

<sup>3</sup> At the VIIIth World Sanskrit Conference held in Vienna in 1991, this reviewer had occasion to hear a highly interesting paper by Alois Wurm on the physical description of a beautiful woman: 'Sundarīnakhaśikhavarṇana — A Sanskrit Literary Motif. Preliminaries to a Typological Demarcation in a Universal Perspective'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Iqbāl Ah'mad (ed), *Mirzā abdurrah'mān 'premi' kṛt nakh-sikh*, Bombay 1972. In the introduction, pp.4f., the editor mentions that Balabhadra (V.S. 1630), his brother Keśava (V.S. 1657), and a host of others composed texts all called *Nakh-Sikh*. Keśava provides for 39 "stops" while Lakṣmīnārāyan "Śafīq" Awrangābādī in his *Taṣwīr-e-ḡānān* (composed in 1774) employs a *Sar-ā-pā* with as many as 169 headings.

<sup>5</sup> Except for one Parvatīya Viśveśvara who wrote a hundred verses exclusively on this line under the title *Romāvalīśataka*, but he is an eighteenth century writer obviously working under the influence of the Rīti-school. Das (p.9) announces a forthcoming German translation of this work.

always answer "geographical" queries.

Thus, in order fully to understand the poetic conventions regarding the *romarāji*, one must: (i) study it as part of a linear description of the entire body, and not as an isolated description, (ii) pay attention to the sequential context, and (iii) read the Kāvya chronologically.

Of the sixty-two Kāvya passages studied, Das found only one that favours the *romarāji* below the navel. This is also the oldest available text. The verse in question is Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* 1.31 (Das, § 25, pp.12f.). Because of the overwhelming number of passages holding the contrary view, Das, though he finally does take this verse to refer to the *romarāji* below the navel (pp.22f.;40), is very cautious in accepting what I consider to be an unambiguous statement about the location of the *romarāji*. I construe the verse as follows: *tasyāḥ tanvī navaromarājih nīvīm atikramya natanābhirandhram praviṣṭā* 'Her thin and new[ly sprouted] *romarāji*, having crossed the knot of the nether garment, entered the opening of the deep navel.' What Kālidāsa means is this. The lower part of the *romarāji* is not visible because it is covered by the garment. It becomes visible only after it crosses the *nīvī*. The poet then continues to say that the *romarāji* 'shone like the lustre of the dark gem in the middle of the hip girdle.' Where is this girdle? As is evident from Indian sculpture, women tied the nether garment well below the navel, and to keep it in position wore a girdle just on the upper fringe of the garment. Thus the *mekhalā* is always below the navel. Consequently the *romarāji*, when it is said to emerge from below the garment and the girdle and enter the navel, lies unquestionably below the navel.

The context also shows that Kālidāsa is describing each station in a regular sequence in the following ascending order (1.33-48): toe-nails, feet; gait, anklets; calves; thighs; girdle; *romarāji* reaching up to the navel; waist, three folds; breasts; arms; throat; face; lips; voice; eyes; eye-brows; hair. Das too has drawn attention to these facts, but in a manner far more cautious than necessary.

Similarly, the anonymous verse 15 (Das, § 28, pp.15f.) locates the *romarāji* below the navel in a successive enumeration of thighs, hips, *romarāji*, navel, waist, breasts, and face. Here too Das is extremely cautious (also on p.22), but I think there can be no doubt in this regard. It is a pity we do not know the source of this verse, because, as we shall see later (see n.16), its chronology is of crucial importance in the discussion.

Subandhu is perhaps the next poet to mention the *romarāji* in the



course of a linear description in his *Vāsavadattā*.<sup>6</sup> In the text as it is current today, there are three passages where the *romarāji* is described and these create complications. The first passage reads *romarājilatālavālavalayena ... mekhalādāmnā ... parikalitajaghanasthalā* (pp.40f.). Here Vāsavadattā's hip-region (*jaghanasthala*) is said to be encircled by a girdle (*mekhalādāman*<sup>7</sup>). The poet uses a number of images to describe the girdle, one of which is *romarājilatālavālavalayena*. That is to say, if the *romarāji* is imagined to be a creeper (*latā*), the girdle then becomes its *ālavālavalaya*, the circular trench or basin which is dug around the root of a plant and which is filled with water. Thus the *romarāji* is identified/compared with the *latā* and the *mekhalādāman* with the *ālavālavalaya*. To use the terminology of *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, the *romarāji* and the *mekhalādāman* are *upameyas* (subjects of comparison) and the *latā* and the *ālavālavalaya* are *upamānas* (objects of comparison). Therefore, what the poet intends to say is this: just as a creeper rises from the round trench and goes upwards, so does the *romarāji* rise from the girdle and go upwards [towards the navel]. Das avers (n.75 on p.55) that 'The *ālavāla*- "basin of water round the root of a plant" of the *romarāji*- mentioned here is in all probability the navel' (cf. n.8). Syntax does not support this probability for *romarājilatālavālavalayena* and the seven other expressions, all in the instrumental, are connected with the immediately following *mekhalādāmnā*, also in the instrumental.

In Subandhu's second passage (*romāvalīlatāphalabhūtābhyām ... payodharābhyām*, p.43) the *romarāji* is a creeper and the breasts are the fruit. This would mean that the *romarāji* is above the navel and reaches up to the breasts.<sup>8</sup>

In the third passage (*hāralatāromarājivyājagaṅgāyamunāsaṅgama-*

<sup>6</sup> Ed. with the *Prabodhinī* Sanskrit and Hindi commentaries by Śaṅkaradeva Śāstrī, Varanasi 1954. The text is heavily inflated and needs a proper critical edition.

<sup>7</sup> *mekhalādāman* (PW, s.v. *dāman*), *kāñcīguṇa*, etc. are common expressions for a string-girdle, or girdle made of a single strand in contradistinction to broader girdles or those made of multiple strands. For the former, cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* (critical edition) 2.72.6:

*liptā candanasāreṇa rājavastrāṇi bibhratī*

*mekhalādāmabhiś citrai rajjubaddheva vānarī.*

For the latter, cf. *Kumārasambhava* 1.37 etc.

<sup>8</sup> Combining the imagery in these two passages, the author of the *Lalitāsahasranāmastotra* (ed. Vasant Anant Gāḍgil, Puṇyapattana 1977, p.7) wrote at a later period: *nābhyālavālaromālīlatāphalakucadvayī*. Here navel and *ālavāla* are equated.

*prayāgataṭābhyām ... payodharābhyām*, pp.43-45) the *romarāji* goes even higher and passes through the narrow channel between the breasts. Here the dark *romarāji* is the river Yamunā, the white pearl necklace the Gaṅgā, and the breasts the two steep banks at Prayāga where these two rivers meet. As Das pertinently observes elsewhere in connection with Kālidāsa (p.17), Subandhu could not have written all the three passages, placing the *romarāji* sometimes below and sometimes above the navel. Either the first one is genuine and the next two interpolations, or the other way round.

We are faced with a similar problem also with the other great prose writer Bāṇa. He seems to be the only poet who mentions the *romarāji* in connection with a masculine body. Describing the onset of puberty in prince Candrāpīḍa in his *Kādambarī*,<sup>9</sup> the poet remarks that his *romarāji* ascended high along with his valour (*pratāpena sahāruroha romarājih*, pp. 266f.), without however specifying where this *romarāji* grew. Elsewhere in the same work (p.478), he describes, among others, the navel, *romarāji*, girdle, and so on of Puṇḍarīka in a descending order, implying clearly that the *romarāji* is below the navel. The same location is suggested in connection with a female as well in the next passage, where a tribal girl is described in the following words literally borrowed from Subandhu's first passage cited above: *romarājilatā-lavālakena rasanādāmnā parikalitajaghanasthalām* (p. 38). A fourth mention of the *romarāji* occurs in connection with the heroine Kādambarī (p.615), and this contradicts the previous statements. Here in an ascending enumeration the description of the *romarāji* is placed between those of the navel and the breasts, implying that it lies between these, though the description itself does not make a statement about the location (*tribhuvanavijayaprasastivarnāvalīm iva likhitām manmathena romarājimañjarīm bibhrāṇām*). If this phrase were shifted and placed before the description of the navel, the contradiction would disappear.

There is one more poet who places the *romarāji* correctly below the navel, namely Bilhaṇa. In the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, he describes Candrālekḥā in an ascending order in some eighty verses (8.6-86). Verses 17-23 are devoted to *nitamba/śronī/jaghana*. These are followed by vv.24-28 on the *romarāji*. Thereafter the navel is described in 29-33,

<sup>9</sup> Ed. with the commentary of Bhānucandra and Siddhacandra and Hariścandra Vidyālaṅkāra's Hindi translation by Mohanadeva Panta, reprint Dillī 1976.



then the three folds, breasts and so on. This sequence shows that Bilhaṇa locates the *romarāji* below the navel. It is not necessary that each stanza on the *romarāji* should invariably supply the anatomical-geographical coordinates, but many of these, in fact, do.

Das does not consider the description of the *romarāji* in the context of the whole passage (8.6-86), nor does he read the verses on the *romarāji* (8.24-28, 31) in their proper sequence (cf. p.209 above). Consequently he finds most of these verses problematic. Nevertheless, he concludes 'that the problematic verses ... too fit into the patterns of other verses of Bilhaṇa discussed and thus into that of the majority of other verses' (§ 38, p.21), i.e. that Bilhaṇa's verses locate the *romarāji* above the navel like the majority of the verses considered in Das's study. This conclusion goes against the sequence of description which I mentioned just above. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss these verses successively in somewhat greater detail and see what the poet states or implies about the position of the *romarāji*.

Verse 24 (Das, § 33, p.20): The *romarāji* enters the navel, as if it were a streak of darkness running away from the lustre of the gems on the girdle and trying to hide in the deep cavern of the navel. This is a clear statement that the *romarāji* runs from the girdle to the navel. Das wonders from which side the line enters the navel.<sup>10</sup> But if the *romarāji* runs away from the lustre, then it must be from below because the girdle is worn below the navel. There cannot be a more explicit statement in poetry. Moreover, note also the echo of *Kumārasambhava* 1.38 here:

*Ku* 1.38: *tasyāḥ praviṣṭā natanābhirandhram ... tanvī navaromarājiḥ.*

*VC* 8.24: *nābhirandhram praviṣṭāsyāḥ śyāmalā romavallārī.*

Verse 25 (Das, §32, pp.19f.): For a correct appreciation of this verse, it is necessary to know that it echoes *Kumārasambhava* 1.24.<sup>11</sup>

*Ku* 1.24: *vidūrabhūmir navameghaśabdād udbhinnayā ratnaśalākayeva.*

*VC* 8.25: *bhāti romāvalī tasyāḥ payodharabharonnatau*

<sup>10</sup> P.20: 'One could say ... that the *romarāji*- flees, so to say, *away* from the vicinity of the jewel. However, it may also be that it is on the other side of the navel, in which case it would, so to say, hide in this after descending from above and refrain from advancing further on its course.'

<sup>11</sup> Sures Chandra Banerji and Amal Kumar Gupta ignore this fact and make a mess of their translation in *Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadeva Caritam. Glimpses of the History of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa*. First English Rendering. Calcutta 1965, p.128.

*jātā ratnaśalākeva śronivaidūryabhūmitaḥ.*

Kālidāsa gives expression here to an old belief: when new water-bearing clouds come thundering, columns of beryl stone sprout from the earth. Bilhaṇa plays on the theme through the double meaning of the word *payodhara*. Therefore, I shall modify Das's translation as follows: 'Her *romāvalī* shines like a jewel-rod, produced from the *vaidūrya*-ground of the hips, with the increase of the heavy clouds/breasts.' Here also the implication is that the *romarāji* rises upwards from the pelvic region (*śroni*).<sup>12</sup>

Verse 26 (Das, § 31, pp.17f.): In this verse the poet sees a parallel between the navel and the *romarāji* on the one hand, and the golden bracelet (usual meaning of *kaṭaka*) and the lac oozing from it on the other hand. I cannot visualise why the lac should be oozing from a golden bracelet, but if it does, then it goes downwards, and this is implied by the word *dhārā*.<sup>13</sup>

Verse 27 (Das, § 37, p.21): Another parallelism between the ensemble of the navel and the *romarāji* on the one hand, and a ring and a chain on the other, the latter to tie the elephant which is/belongs to Kāma (*smaradantinaḥ*). A chain normally hangs downwards.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Assuming that the jewel-rod is meant for the in my opinion impossible purpose of elevating/buttredding/raising the breasts (*unnatau* does not generate such a meaning), Das concludes 'that at its upper end the *romarāji*- extends up to the breasts'. But here Bilhaṇa is just playing upon a variation of Kālidāsa's original theme. There are two parallel images. The first is of the linear *romarāji* that sprung up from the pelvic region as soon as the breasts rose/grew, both breasts and the *romarāji* being signs of puberty. The second image is that of longish crystals of beryl sprouting from the earth as soon as clouds rise in the sky. Neither do the beryl crystals reach up to the clouds nor the *romarāji* up to the breasts.

<sup>13</sup> Das wishes to locate the *kaṭaka* also on the woman's body and therefore tries various permutations with the different meanings of *kaṭaka*. But the poet says clearly that the *kaṭaka* belongs to Kandarpa or Kāma, and this in my opinion precludes its being on the woman's body too. As an ornament, the word can mean (usually) a bracelet or (very rarely) a girdle. In either case, the lac flowing from it will flow downwards. And with this is compared the *romarāji* attached to the navel.

<sup>14</sup> Again Das indulges in what to me is over-interpretation. Though there is no mention of breasts in the verse, he refers vaguely to other verses with clearer statements and insists that the elephant implies breasts ('actually, the breasts are elephant's frontal lobes'), and that therefore the *romarāji* connects the navel and breasts. In this verse, as in others, two parallel images are presented. One is the subject of comparison (*upa-*



Verse 28 (Das, § 34, p.20): The *romarāji* enters the navel to see how deep it is. There is no explicit statement about the location of the *romarāji*, but Das thinks that ‘since however a sounding line would fall downwards, the implication ....seems to be that the *romarāji* is above the navel’. Perhaps. But note his comment on the following verse.<sup>15</sup>

Verse 29 (Das, § 37, p.21): As I have said earlier, the *romarāji* is described in vv.24-28. After this, the navel is described in vv.29-31. Verse 29 states that the navel looks like a pit produced in the ground by the tip of the bow, when Kāma used it as a climbing pole to reach up to the breasts. In this bow, Das wishes to see the *romarāji* stretching from the navel to the breasts. I do not, because (i) the verse makes sense without this identification, (ii) this identification goes against the statement of all the other verses, and (iii) when Kāma has climbed up, he must have taken away the bow, so that all one can see is just the pit.

Verse 31 (Das, § 35, p.20): As in 26 and 27, here is a parallelism between the navel-*romarāji* combination and the ink-pot (actually a clump of dried ink) and the stream of ink, which naturally flows downwards. Das acknowledges this, but also adds (p.21): ‘However, it may well be that the simile here is not meant so literally, in which case what would matter is merely that the flow is *away* from the navel, i.e. the *romarāji*- could be taken to be *above* this.’ Sure, but does that supersede the possibility that the *romarāji* is below, which is the normal

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*meya*) and also the topic under discussion (*prastuta*), and the other is the object of comparison (*upamāna*) and extraneous to the discussion (*aprastuta*). The various elements of these two images should be independent of one another in order to produce a clear parallelism, whether this is presented in the form of *upamā*, *rūpaka* or any other figure of speech based on comparison. Therefore, in the present verse, the elephant which belongs to or is identical with Kāma need not, and must not, be sought in the limbs of the woman who is being described. Pertinent is just the fact that the navel and the *romarāji* together resemble a ring and a chain. Since a chain *normally* hangs downwards from the ring, the implication is that the *romarāji* is below the navel. Das thinks of some other possibilities too, but in that case even more possibilities present themselves. Thus, if you hold the other end of the chain and drop it from a very great height, you will see for some minutes the heavier ring below the chain. Again, if you clasp the ring around the elephant’s foot and fasten the other end of the chain to a post, both the ring and the chain will lie in a horizontal plane. But poetry should not be subjected to this kind of analysis.

<sup>15</sup> ‘It may however be that the picture is not to be taken so literally, i.e. that what is significant here is the mere fact that the line enters the opening.’

direction of flow?

Thus in each of these verses (with the possible exception of 28) Bilhaṇa makes a clear enough statement that the *romarāji* lies below the navel.

But there is no denying the fact that there exists a large body of examples where the *romarāji* is clearly above the navel and is reaching up to the breasts. This shows that at some point of time there occurred a shift in the position of the *romarāji*, not in the female anatomy, but in poetic imagination. Once the *romarāji* had gone above the navel, it was firmly made to remain there by the subsequent poets. Perhaps a chronological study of Sanskrit literary works might reveal when this shift took place.<sup>16</sup>

At least one Sanskrit writer appears to be aware that the *romarāji* is wrongly located. In the sixteenth century, Keśava Miśra states that the *romarāji* and the *trivalī* in women are artificial poetic conventions (*kavisampradāya* or *kavisamaya*) of the kind where things that do not exist are mentioned. This does not, of course, mean that these two do not exist at all: only that they do not exist in the manner described in conventional poetry.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, adds Keśava, it is highly desirable to follow these conventions (*kavisampradāyasya sarvāpekṣābhyarhitattvam*). Therefore, he teaches how to describe the female body in a descending linear sequence, where he places the *romarāji* between the breasts and the navel.<sup>18</sup>

However, the *romarāji* above the navel cannot be put in the same

<sup>16</sup> As we have seen, Kālidāsa, the anonymous author of verse 15, Subandhu (if the second and third passages are interpolations), and Bāṇa depict the *romarāji* below the navel. On the other hand, Māgha (*Śiśupālavadha* 9.22) and Śrīharṣa (*Naiṣadhīyacarita* 7.83-87) see it above the navel. Thus two seventh century writers Bāṇa and Māgha have contradictory views on the location of the *romarāji*. Does this warrant the conclusion that the shift began to occur in the seventh century and that poets like Bilhaṇa (in the eleventh) still adhered to the older tradition?

<sup>17</sup> *Alaṅkāraśekhara*, p.59: *vastugatyā yan na bhavati tad api kavibhir nibadhyate. yathā. ...*

*kesarāśokayoḥ satstrigaṇḍūṣāt pādaghātataḥ  
māsāntare 'pi puṣpāṇi romālis trivaliḥ striyām.*

<sup>18</sup> Keśava enumerates the stock phrases to describe the *romarāji* thus (*ibid.*, p.48):  
*rekḥākārālisuśyāmā romālis tena tādṛśaiḥ  
śaivāladhūmabhṛṅgālilātādyair upamīyate.*



class of poetic conventions as lotuses in flowing waters and the like. Lotus flowers in flowing waters, even if they cannot grow there in reality, would add to the beauty of the waters. The notion of Aśoka trees blooming when kicked by pretty women, though quite impossible, has some charm of its own. But a dark line of hair reaching up to the breasts or even passing through the cleavage, should it occur in reality, would indeed be revolting to Indian sensibilities. That such a poetic convention persisted all the same, that too without any religious or ideological compulsions, is an enigma.

Prof. Rahul Peter Das deserves all credit for drawing our attention to this enigma. This long critique is, in fact, meant to be a tribute to his stimulating article. One looks forward with eager anticipation to his German translation on this "hair-raising" theme.<sup>19</sup>

### Editors' Note

On the *romarājī*- see now also: RAHUL PETER DAS, "The *romarājī*- in Indian Kāvya and Āyurvedic Literature — Paralipomena", *Festschrift Klaus Bruhn zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*[,] herausgegeben von Nalini Balbir und Joachim K. Bautze. Reinbek 1994, pp.267-294.

On p.292 of the article mentioned please insert the following:

BRONKHORST JOHANNES BRONKHORST: "Studies on Bhartṛhari, 5: Bhartṛhari and Vaiśeṣika." *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 47.1993, pp.75-94.

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. n.5 above.

## On the Problem of the Contribution of Ascetics and Buddhist Monks to the Development of Indian Medicine\*

ALBRECHT WEZLER

The purpose of this study is, according to the author's own statement ('Conclusion', p.117), 'the investigation of Indian medicine in the crucial but neglected period from about 800 to 100' (i.e. from the time of the 'compilation of the R̥gveda in its final form' (p.14) up to the period of 'the classical treatises of Caraka, Bhela, and Suśruta' (p.3), and these dates are 'B.C.E.',<sup>1</sup> the aim of the study being to 'obtain a more comprehensive and more plausible picture of ancient Indian medical history ...'. Hence this book is clearly a continuation, and a logical one at that, of Zysk's doctoral dissertation;<sup>2</sup> and it is logical that the main results of the dissertation are summarised at the outset (pp.11ff.). What Zysk is looking for, and claims to have discovered, is the missing link, so to say, between what he time and again calls the 'magico-religious' Vedic medicine and the 'empirico-rational' (= *yuktyapāśraya*) medicine in the earliest works of Āyurveda literature, or, in his own words, 'the transition from Vedic medicine, anchored in a magico-religious ideology, to *āyurveda*, dominated by an empirico-rational epistemology' (p.117); this transition is conceived of as 'a paradigm shift', though not exactly in the sense of Kuhn's theory. 'From the early Vedic period, medicine and healers were excluded from the core of the orthodox brāhmaṇic social and religious hierarchy', that is to say, from the group of Brahmins who were the vehicle of the "*trayī-vidyā*-culture", 'and found acceptance among heterodox traditions of

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\* A Review of: Kenneth G. Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India. Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery*. Oxford University Press: New York/Oxford 1991. 200 pp. £ 30.00 or US-\$ 35.00. ISBN 0-19-505956-5. (Indian edition: Rs 160.00. ISBN 0-19-562966-3.)

<sup>1</sup> "Politically correct" American for 'B.C.', since the 'Common Era' is in the West of course the Christian one.

<sup>2</sup> *Religious Healing in the Veda, with Translations and Annotations from the R̥gveda and the Atharvaveda and Renderings from the Corresponding Ritual Texts*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 75.5.) Philadelphia 1985.



mendicant ascetics, or *śramanas*, who became the repository of a vast storehouse of medical knowledge. Unaffected by brāhmaṇic strictures and taboos, these śramaṇic physicians developed an empirically based medical epistemology and accumulated medical lore from different healing traditions in ancient India. Ideally suited to the Buddha's key teaching of the Middle Way, this medical information was codified in the early Buddhist monastic rules, which stressed the practical rather than the theoretical virtues of healing and gave rise to a tradition of Buddhist monastic medicine ...'. 'Hinduism assimilated the ascetic medical repository into its socioreligious and intellectual tradition beginning probably during the Gupta period and by application of a brāhmaṇic veneer made it an orthodox Hindu science' (p.118).

The gist of Zysk's new vistas of the early history of medicine in India is hence clear — as is his indebtedness to Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya,<sup>3</sup> to whose views he does not however subscribe uncritically. In fact Zysk's main argument is either as such or in its essential parts repeated so often in the body of the book, in particular at the beginning and end of its — altogether — 6 chapters, that one may doubt whether Zysk on his part has succeeded in finding a "middle path" between a welcome explicitness, even though implying a certain degree of repetitiveness, on the one hand, and a rather problematic drumming of his views into his readers — who may just for this reason grow suspicious that he is perhaps himself not fully confident of the strength of his arguments themselves. 'The Evolution of Classical Indian Medicine' thus forms the subject of the first part (pp.11-73), divided into four chapters, namely 'The Beginnings of Indian Medicine: Magico-religious Healing' (pp.11-20), 'Heterodox Asceticism and the Rise of Empirico-rational Medicine' (pp.21-37) and 'Medicine and Buddhist Monasticism' (pp.38-49), followed by a kind of extra, viz. 'Indian Medicine in Buddhism Beyond India', which pursues a particular aspect of the later development, or reception, of Indian medicine, i.e. 'the spread of Indian medical ideas to Tibet and parts of Central, East and Southeast Asia' (p. 50), but has no direct bearing on the central argument of the book. The second part is devoted to 'The Content of Early Buddhist Monastic Medicine' (pp.73-116), i.e. an analysis of the section on medicines in the

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<sup>3</sup> *Science and Society in Ancient India*. Calcutta 1977, and, *History of Science and Technology in Ancient India: The Beginnings*. Calcutta 1986.

*Mahāvagga*; this part is conveniently divided into a chapter on 'Materia Medica' (pp.73-83) and another one on 'Stories of Treatment based on Cases of Diseases' (pp.84-116). The 'Introduction' (pp.3-8), which contains among other things an outline of the 'structure of the study' (p.7), is counterbalanced, as it were, by a 'Conclusion' (pp.117-119), from which I have already quoted above. Appendix I, 'Jivaka's Cures' (pp.120-127), announced already in n.35 to p.43, is, as frankly stated by the author himself, a revised and improved version of an earlier article of his;<sup>4</sup> Appendix II (pp.128-132) is a 'Glossary of Pāli and Sanskrit Plant Names', with regard to which the readers are rightly told that 'a note of caution ... applies' to it, but unfortunately not given the information on which source(s) precisely Zysk himself has drawn here. Thereupon follow the 'Notes' (pp.133-167) to all the chapters of the book, their numbering starting with '1.' in the case of each single chapter. Most of the references to primary and secondary literature are found here, as also quotations from texts, and discussions of minor, generally philological, problems. The book concludes with what is called a 'Bibliography' (pp.168-182), but is in reality (as usual) a list of 'Primary' and 'Other Sources', an 'Index of Sanskrit and Pāli Words' (pp.183-189 and pp.189-193, respectively), and finally a 'General Index' (pp.195-200). For an *index locorum*, however, one looks in vain.

The book is apparently meant not only for fellow scholars or Indologists in general, but also for a wider public,<sup>5</sup> a noble and laudable — albeit a rather ambitious — aim which may be the reason, or one of the reasons, for the undeniable clarity of the exposition.

Zysk indeed draws 'on a wide range of textual, archaeological, and secondary sources' and indeed 'examines primary literature from the Pāli Buddhist Canon and from the Sanskrit treatises of Bhela, Caraka and Suśruta', as we are told in the blurb (but cf. p.7). Hence 'an important book, which offers groundbreaking new vistas', as stated by F. Zimmermann in his review?<sup>6</sup> No doubt a stimulating book, and a step

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<sup>4</sup> 'Studies in Traditional Indian Medicine in the Pāli Canon: Jivaka and Āyurveda', *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 5.1.1982, pp.70-86.

<sup>5</sup> Or, rather, an Indian public, for it is such a public which nowadays expects, or is taken to expect, that every historical study should start with a chapter on Harappa (see pp.11f.: 'Speculations on Harappan Medicine').

<sup>6</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113.1993, pp.321-323.



forward in the right direction. But the final judgment of course depends on a number of questions, the main ones being: Of what kind are the individual pieces of evidence? How does the author treat them, especially the textual evidence? What kind of conclusions does he draw? How convincing are the conclusions he draws? How does he argue? That is to say: Does the evidence presented by him support his main thesis, and its various constituent parts? Zysk himself expects his 'presentation of Indian medical history ... to stimulate controversy, particularly among those who ascribe the origins of *āyurveda* to traditional brāhmaṇic orthodoxy' ('Preface'; cf. also p.117f.). If he is right in this regard, it is not a *praudhokti* to predict that this critique will ultimately be ideological and not academic. There can indeed hardly be any doubt that the contributions of the *trayī-vidyā*-Brahmins to the beginnings of Āyurveda were at best marginal. And there are not only, as pointed out by Zysk at several places, clear cases of "brāhmaṇisations" in the Āyurvedic Samhitās, but his central thesis also cannot be denied a certain degree of — already — general plausibility, viz. that ascetics, various types of ascetics, played an important — in Zysk's view: a decisive — role in the development of Indian medicine. It is rather other features of his book and statements in it which provoke thought, arouse doubts, cause comment or are simply to be rejected as untenable.

The stark contrast between the 'magico-religious healing' of the Veda and the later 'empirico-rational medicine', emphasised by Zysk time and again, may be acceptable as rhetorical exaggeration. The sources available for our knowledge of medicine in the early Vedic period, however, are such that it would be advisable to modify the expression and speak of a '(most probably) **predominantly** magico-religious healing'; but when one turns to the medicine attested in the earliest Āyurvedic texts, one immediately hesitates and wonders whether the — in any case only rough — statistical ratio implied by the word 'predominantly', which suggests itself equally in the case of the 'empirico-rational medicine', should refer to the texts or rather to the actual medical practice (of which very little is known, at least so far); I do not think we are in a position to decide that magical spells, e.g. against snakebites, were at that time markedly less frequent than 'empirico-rational' methods. Another description also possible, and in my view even closer to reality, would be that the 'empirico-rational' aspect, already present in Vedic medicine (cf. p.15), became

conspicuously stronger and predominant in later medical theory/literature. We would then have to address the problem as to what caused this development, rather than by whom it was brought about, and why 'empirico-rational' thought expressed itself precisely in the various, and heterogeneous, theories taught in the Āyurvedic Samhitās.

As to be expected in an Indological publication in which professedly 'a historical-philological methodology is used' (p.7), the evidence is for the most part textual, and only to a much smaller extent archaeological. With regard to the latter it suffices to give just one example (in accordance with the *sthālīpulākanyāya*). 'The inscription *śrī ārogyavihāre bhikṣusaṅghasya*', found in the lower half of 'a sealing [sic] from a building discovered during the excavations at Kumrahār', Pāṭaliputra, 'dating from around 300 to 450 C.E.', is taken by Zysk to mean 'in the auspicious health house of the monastic community' (p.45) — and thus as corroborating the existence of health houses as a part of Buddhist monasteries. Zysk would have to adduce very strong reasons indeed to convince us that *ārogya* was not just the name of this monastery (cf. also K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow 1972). He tends to be equally "generous", and not to fritter away his time, when dealing with non-inscriptional passages.

To say of *Ṛgvedasamhitā* 9,112,1 only that in it the 'masters of healing' appear 'in the middle of a threefold list of skilled professionals that included carpenters (*takṣán*), healers (*bhiṣáj*), and priests (*brahmán*)' (p.21) is, to put it mildly, slightly misleading; it is rather the difference between people in general which is underscored in this verse (*nānānām vā u no dhīyo ví vratāni jánānām*), the common feature of the three "professionals" mentioned being that all of them look for somebody who might need their service. On p.22, in the translation of a passage from the *Taittirīyasamhitā* (6,4,9,1ff.), the phrase *ápūtau vā imáu manuṣya-caráu bhiṣájāv (iti)* is rendered 'Impure are they', i.e. the Aśvins,<sup>7</sup> 'wandering men and<sup>8</sup> physicians'. The analysis of the whole passage leaves much to be desired: The Aśvins' impurity is clearly due to their contact with men as a different species of mortal living beings below the gods; but are the physicians therefore in their turn impure because of

<sup>7</sup> Who, by the way, can hardly be called 'horsemen' (p.14).

<sup>8</sup> Bolding mine.



their contact with different and hierarchically lower **classes** of people? Or does the analogy rather simply consist in the "profession" of a physician as such, a reason for his impurity being given only in the case of the Aśvins, the divine "prototypes"? Or, why is the Brahmin not polluted to whose right sits 'one who practices medicine'? Is Zysk's conclusion — that this 'mythical event produced ... the establishment of a rite of purification for physicians' — really justified in view of the fact that in the parallel passage *Kāṭhakaśāstra* 27,4 it is the/a *brāhmaṇa* who is stated to perform the rite?

At p.25 the interpretation of *Carakaśāstra*, Sūtrasthāna 30,21<sup>9</sup> likewise poses a number of problems only some of which can be discussed here. Instead of 'by a physician who has inquired about' a correct rendering of the first words would be 'by a physician who has been asked in this manner (i.e. that described in 30,20<sup>10</sup>)'. The meaning *ādeśyā* has here is hardly captured by 'is ordered'; much more likely is 'is taught/recommended'. The most important *ātmano* — to be connected with the subsequent '*tharvavede* — should not by any means be left out in the translation. Zysk's rendering of the long compound *dāna°...°parigrahāc* equally contains mistakes and omissions, and to translate *vedo hy ātharvaṇo ... cikitsām prāha* by 'for it is stated that the sacred knowledge of the fire priests [*atharvans*] is medical science', is again not just inappropriate or inexact — so that Zysk could retreat to the line of defence of giving only a "free translation" —, but simply wrong: 'for the sacred knowledge ... [itself!] proclaims/authoritatively teaches medical science'.

The *svabhāvavāda*, mentioned on p.29 as explication of the concept of 'proper understanding of nature', is one of the — I always thought: well-known — "theories/teachings" in early Indian philosophy according to which *svabhāva* is the ultimate cause of the world and all phenomena. Pāli *gaḥetum* (p.95) is not the infinitive of the causative, but equivalent to, and derived from, Skt. *grahītum*. And the Pāli compound *gharadinnakābādha* does not mean an 'affliction resulting from being given fabricated (artificial) poison' (p.104), but an 'affliction due to

<sup>9</sup> *tatra bhiṣajā prṣṭenaivam caturṇām ṛksāmayaajuratharvavedānām ātmano 'tharvavede bhaktir ādeśyā, vedo hy ātharvaṇo dānasvastyaayanabalimaṅgalahomaniyamaprāyaścit-topavāsamantrādiparigrahāc cikitsām prāha ...*

<sup>10</sup> *tatra cet praṣṭārah syuḥ — caturṇām ṛksāmayaajuratharvavedānām kaṁ vedam upa-diśanty āyurvedavidah ...*

something that has been given and is poison(ous)'. Etc., etc.

I do not of course want to intimate that all the translations given by Zysk, or implied by what he writes, are of this rather poor quality: but certainly too many are. And what is even more important, they are most telling in that they testify to a laxness which can be observed in other regards too, especially with regard to conclusions drawn and arguments presented. What should one think e.g. of the following statement: 'They', i.e. physicians existing 'outside the mainstream of society', 'earned their livelihood by administering cures and increased their knowledge by keen observations and by exchanging medical data with other healers whom they encountered along the way, for the āyurvedic medical tradition strongly encouraged discussions and debates with other physicians' (p. 24)? Granted that *Carakasamhitā*, *Vimānasthāna* 8,13 and 20 indeed 'strongly encourage' such an 'exchange of experience and knowledge', are these statements, even taken together with the examples of debates found in the *Samhitās*, sufficient evidence to assume that the picture drawn by Zysk of the later Vedic period is more than a figment of his own imagination? *Rückschlüsse* of this type, i.e. conclusions drawn from younger textual evidence with regard to (an) earlier period(s) of time, or the contention that a particular phenomenon attested in a younger source did still exist at that particular point of time, i.e. continues an earlier tradition the existence of which it is thus supposed to confirm, are not rare (see e.g. pp.74ff.)

Or take the beginning of the second paragraph on p.40: 'The inclusion of a form of medicine', i.e. 'putrid urine (of cattle) as medicine (*pūtimuttābhesajja*)', one of the 'four resources (*nissaya*)' with which a new Buddhist monk was provided according to the Vinaya) 'among the essential life resources points to knowledge of techniques of healing among the wandering ascetics', i.e. (most probably) non-Buddhist and Buddhist. The possession of medicine by an individual does not, of course, imply that he/she has any medical knowledge. In addition, it is hard to believe, not that animal urine, 'because neither human donations nor injury to living beings was required to obtain it', was easily accessible to wanderers, but that it was for this reason permitted to Buddhist monks — which solves the riddle of Zysk's repeated reference to the 'Middle Way'. Urine was — and still is — in South Asia one of the most common "household remedies": not, however, just any 'animal urine', but cow urine, although it is used for many other purposes too. In passing only I should like to add that I wonder whether *pūtimuttābhe-*



*sajja* really, at least right from the beginning, meant ‘putrid [cow] urine as medicine’, and not rather ‘[cow] urine which forms a means of purification ...’. Similarly, certain other medicines, viz. ‘the five basic medicines’ of ‘the materia medica of the Buddhist monastery’, i.e. ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey and molasses (p.72), are to be suspected of being basically “household remedies”. A final example of a Zyskian argument: ‘Professional medical practioners also rendered medical aid to the ill in the *saṅgha*, indicating the close connection between medicine and Buddhist monasticism’ (p. 84). Replace ‘*saṅgha*’ by ‘jail’ or ‘brothel’ or ‘chicken-farm’, and accordingly ‘medical practioners’ by ‘veterinarians’, and try to maintain your composure!

Again, these are only examples, and more could be given. They are not meant to intimate that the whole book is nothing but a series of such arguments. But neither can they be simply played down as occasional slip-ups; rather they indicate another central weakness of this study, the lack of continuously consistent reflection.

In a number of cases Zysk convincingly demonstrates that he is able to use secondary literature critically (see e.g. p.30f.). But when one reads on p.39 that ‘in the early *saṅgha*, membership was quite unrestricted, and wanderers joined and left at will’ — and ‘these comings and goings’, of course, ‘increased the quantity of new information exchanged among the various *śramāṇas* who happened to sojourn during the monsoon rains with the *bhikkhus* ...’ —, one looks desperately for a note giving a/the reference, i.e. some kind of support for this statement which flatly contradicts all that is said in the Vinaya.<sup>11</sup>

As has already been mentioned above, Zysk cannot be accused of lacking imagination. But certainly he does not always make good and reasonable use of it. At places he lets himself be carried away by it, colourfully filling in large blank spots in the picture emerging from the sources (e.g. p.27). In other cases, and I am afraid their number is much too large, imagination seems to have abandoned him totally, which has the sad effect that he does not see other possibilities of interpreting statements in or correspondences between texts, and does not therefore recognise (the) problems involved. E.g. it does not occur to him that re-

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. H. Härtel, *Karmavācānā. Formulare für den Gebrauch im buddhistischen Gemeindeleben aus ostturkestanischen Handschriften* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden III), Berlin 1956.

ports of foreign visitors to India, or descriptions of aspects of life in Ancient India ultimately based on such reports, like that of Megasthenes and Strabo (pp.28ff.) or Hsüan-tsang (p.36) or Al-Bīrūnī (also p.36), cannot be relied upon, without any historical criticism, as "authenticated information", as the truth. Thus Hsüan-tsang's statement that 'the body is thrown into deep flowing water and abandoned',<sup>12</sup> one of three methods of disposal of the dead, may well refer to what is called (I don't know since when) *jalasamādhī*, reserved for *homines religiosi*, or persons who are regarded as such; this method, however, a more adequate description of which would be that the body is sent to the bottom of the river, has nothing at all to do with the acquisition of anatomical knowledge, nor does it as a rule give 'opportunity for observing decomposing corpses', because precautions are taken precisely in order to prevent the body from rising to the surface of the water.

Or take another case. The only explanation Zysk can think of for the similarity of classifications of foods in the Buddhist *saṅgha* and 'the early āyurvedic treatises' is 'a common origin' (p.41) — and most of the arguments of the last two chapters of the book are based on this model. Or can we be sure that 'the treatment of split-open feet by means of a foot massage and ... derive from the tradition of wandering ascetics' (p.98), i.e. can we entirely ignore e.g. the peasants, the herdsmen, etc., that is all the people who can even nowadays be seen to suffer from deep cracks in their feet? Should we not take into consideration the possibility that *jvara* might be used metaphorically in the inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, quoted on p.44? *Jvara* is after all one of the synonyms of *kleśa* (e.g. according to the *Yogācārabhūmi*), and if *vigata-jvarālaye* would really mean '[in] the abode of feverless' (*sic*), it would refer not to a health house, but to a "house for the convalescents".

That is to say, throughout the study what the author regards as pieces of evidence are presented as such and nicely garnished, so to say, but hardly ever are they carefully checked as to their actual character and relative significance. Therefore the reader gets the impression of being expected to yield rather to persuasion than to arguments convincing him in so far as they are the result of a comprehensive critical discussion addressing all the problems. Small wonder that one becomes

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<sup>12</sup> Surely this bare statement of Hsüan-tsang does not justify one assuming that he had in mind the scarcity of firewood as we know it today.



a little suspicious of the author, and reckons with the possibility that he saw his main task in just assembling assiduously all the "data" which *prima facie* can be passed off as confirmation of his original "idea".

In fact, in the end one cannot but wonder what remains of the multistoreyed building erected by Zysk once it has been stripped of those parts, some of them clearly weight-bearing, which

- are due to misinterpretations of text passages,
- are first recognised as possibilities, but a little later treated as facts,
- are but one out of a number of equally possible interpretations,

or

- represent "conclusions" not really deserving to be styled as such.

A skeleton of steel girders, tightly joined to each other, or just the ruins of a collapsed structure?

Ironically Zysk may nevertheless ultimately be right. What I have in mind is first of all material not drawn upon by him, like e.g. the many, though stray, references to medicine in other parts of the Vinaya, or statements like e.g. that of *Carakasamhitā* Cikitsāsthāna 1,54(ff.) according to which *tapodhanas* like the *Vaikhānasas* and *Vāḷakhilyas* became people whose lifespan is unlimited by taking the *rasāyana* called *brāhma*, or a verse like *Suśrutasamhitā*, Sūtrasthāna 37,8:

*gopālās tāpasā vyādhā ye cānye vanacārīṇaḥ*

*mūlāhārās ca ye tebhyo bheṣajavyaktir iṣyate,*

in which the group of people to be consulted about — effective — medication is, however, significantly larger than that envisaged by Zysk.

## Reviews and Notices

Kṛṣṇacaitanya Ṭhākura, *Cikitsā bidhāne tantraśāstra*. Prācī Pāb-likeśanaś: Kalikātā Beng. era 1394 [= 1987] (*Pratham khaṇḍa*), 1398 [= 1991] (*Dbitīya khaṇḍa*), 1400 [= 1992] (*Tṛtīya khaṇḍa*). 8;238, [10];180, [10]; *ka-kha*; 176 pp. Rs. 40.—, 45.—, 50.—.

This Bengali work in three volumes, by an Āyurvedācārya who is also well versed in other traditional śāstras, is a valuable collection of treatments for diseases and disorders culled from that class of texts as a rule labelled Tantric; its appearance seems a logical consequence of the fact that Eastern India is one of the major strongholds of Tantrism in South Asia, and that this region, particularly Bengal, also has played and still plays a prominent role in the development of Āyurveda.

According to the author (vol. 1, pp.1f. of the text), Tantrism and Vedic culture had quite different origins; he sees the former as part of a matriarchal society whose vestiges are to be found in the remains of the Indus Culture. Though the classical Āyurvedic works belong basically to Vedic culture, their authors were nevertheless, according to him, also influenced by Tantric culture, this influence being most easily perceivable in the notions on conception and the development of the human being. With regard to Tantrism, he seems to see its chief tenet in a verse cited on p.1:

*maithunaṃ paramaṃ tattvaṃ sṛṣṭisthityantakāraṇaṃ  
maithunāj jāyate siddhir brahmajñānaṃ sudurlabhaṃ*<sup>1</sup>

‘Intercourse is the highest principle/reality, the cause of creation, continuance and termination. From intercourse final accomplishment/emancipation arises, the knowledge of Brahman (or: supreme knowledge) [, which is] very difficult to attain.’

From this very physical starting point, the Tantras go on to preoccupy themselves with the body, the reasoning behind this being summarised, if I understand the author correctly, in the following two verse passages also given on p.1:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The sources of this and all the other verses quoted in this review are nowhere mentioned and thus remain unknown to the reviewer.

<sup>2</sup> Some obvious minor misprints have been corrected.



*etasmāt kim ivendrajālam aparaṃ yad garbhavāsasthitam  
 retas cetati hastamastakapadam prodbhūtanānāṅkuram |  
 paryāyeṇa śīśutvayauvanajarārogair anekair vṛtam  
 paśyaty atti śṛṇoti jighrati tathā gacchaty athāgacchati*

‘What indeed is (= Is there indeed) magic different from this, that semen, situated in the abode of the embryo [and] through /on which various sprouts (embryos?, body parts?) have arisen (or: which has arisen as various sprouts), becomes perceptible as hands, head and feet, is consecutively affected with childhood, youth, age and many diseases, sees, eats, hears, smells, so also goes (i.e. dies) [and] moreover comes (i.e. is [re?]-born)?’,

and:

*mātā vā kāmīnī yad vā kanyakā svairīnī tathā  
 āropyam bhāvasarvasvam prakṛtau sambhogecchayā.  
 tataḥ sṛṣṭiḥ pradhānasya prakṛter jīvatattvataḥ  
 pālanam poṣaṇam kāryam asahāyasya nityaśaḥ*

‘Whether mother or else beloved, likewise daughter/virgin [or] harlot: with desire for sexual union, the entirety of [all these] states of being is to be placed upon the Prakṛti (i.e., the Female Principle/the partner in esoteric sexual intercourse is to be regarded as all these, or else all these are to be regarded as fit partners for such intercourse).<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, there is creation through<sup>4</sup> the Pradhāna (i.e. the "originator"),

<sup>3</sup> According to the Bengali explanation of the author, what is meant is that all the various mentioned states of the female are merely those attributed to her by us (*sab'i to āropita bhāb*), whereas the fulfilment of creation is in sexual intercourse (*sambhogeḥ sṛṣṭir sārthakatā*), which clearly means that according to him it is the form as sexual partner which is to be regarded as the chief form of the female, all the other forms being secondary. It should be noted that such a view of women stands in very stark contrast to what we are usually given to understand is the Indian ideal of womanhood, as exemplified e.g. in Sudhir Kakar, *Intimate Relations. Exploring Indian Sexuality*. Reprinted New Delhi 1990, pp.17ff. (in chapter 2) (note that Kakar's data comes mostly from western and northern India), and which leads to grave problems when reality hinders its being attained.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: "there is the creation of".

[namely] the Prakṛti,<sup>5</sup> in accord with the principle/reality of the individual soul. The protection [and] fostering of the helpless being [thus created] is to be done constantly.'

The logical outcome of this is that matters of a medical nature become important in such a context.

Whatever one may think of the individual arguments of the author, it is indeed a fact that much medically relevant material is to be found in Tantric texts. Unfortunately, this material has so far neither been systematically collected nor studied in detail; this incidentally also holds good for Tantric material in texts generally classed as Āyurvedic.<sup>6</sup> Clearly, this state of affairs cries out to be remedied, all the more so when one considers verses like the following, quoted by Ṭhākur on p.[8] of his introduction to vol. 2 and by Asīmā Caṭṭopādhyāy on p.4 of her foreword to vol. 1:

*anyānyaśāstrāṇi vinodamātram na teṣu kiñcit phalavattam<sup>7</sup> asti  
cikitsitajyotiṣatantrapādāḥ pade pade pratyayam āvahanti*

'Other śāstras are nothing but a pastime; with regard to them, there is not the least profitability. The venerable [śāstras] (or: The verses/text passages on) Cikitsita (i.e. medicine), Jyotiṣa

<sup>5</sup> This translation follows the usage of the terms *pradhāna*- and *prakṛti*- in Sāṅkhya terminology. In the given context, however, one could also be tempted to translate differently: 'Subsequently, creation of what is principal (viz. the human being?) is from the Prakṛti ...'. An instance of Āyurvedic-cum-Tantric usage of the terms (here seemingly as synonyms) is found on p.981 of the *Āyurvedābhdhisāra* (ed. Hyderabad 1989-1991), a medical text which probably belongs to the late eighteenth century:

*pradhānam prakṛtiḥ śaktir nityā cāvikṛtis tathā  
etāni tasyā nāmāni śivam āśritya yā sthitā.*

(The text itself explains *śiva*- as *pums*-).

<sup>6</sup> A well-known example is the *Hārītasamhitā*, which has several passages of what we would call Tantric nature. Especially later medical texts, too, may contained relevant matter (cf. also note 5). Incidentally, Ṭhākur several times points out that individual recipes or remedies may be common to both Tantric and Āyurvedic texts; he seems to hold that in such cases the latter have borrowed from the former (e.g. vol. 1, pp.133f.: recipes found in *Cakradatta*, *Bhaiṣajyaratnāvalī* and *Bhāvaprakāśa* are actually from the *Nāgārjunatantra*, p.123: *Cakradatta* has material from the *Gaurikāñcalikātantra* and the *Garuḍapurāṇa*), and does not seem to consider the possibility of the former borrowing from the latter, or of both borrowing from a third, common source, or utilising material from a floating stock of lore.

<sup>7</sup> Sic in both cases.



(i.e. astrology) and Tantra[, however,] convey certainty/assurance at every step.'

In view of this seemingly traditional notion, these three volumes are obviously very welcome. They present a wealth of medicines and remedies for a large variety of diseases and disorders, arranged according to the individual diseases or disorders (and starting — could it be otherwise? — with the purification of semen). From the introductions and forewords to the various volumes it appears that the author has tried to present medicines made from easily and cheaply available substances, especially those in the first volume, where mention is made of substances (as a rule plants) that may be easily collected by oneself. The latter part of the third volume (pp.86ff.) is taken up by a Pathyāpathya section arranged according to individual diseases and disorders, whereas on the last few pages (pp.172ff.) we find a description of traditional weights and measures (mostly following Śārṅgadhara).

The material presented is culled from a variety of texts, some well known, some not. Most seem to be texts usually classed as Tantric, but some are quite obviously not so, though their material may be related, fully or in part, to that to be found in Tantric texts; it should also be noted that not every text which has *tantra*- as part of its title is a Tantric text. As far as could be ascertained, the following texts were excerpted (with the forms of the names as given by Ṭhākura):<sup>8</sup>

*Agnipurāṇa*, *Agnibhīmātantra*, *Aghoratantra*, *Arkaprakāśa*, *Aśvinītantra*, *Ādityayāmala*, *Ādiyāmala*, *Āyurvedatantra*,<sup>9</sup> *Indrajālatantra*, *Uddīnatantra*, *Uddīyanatantra*, *Uddīśatantra*, *Uddāmaratantra*, *Uddāmareśvaratantra*, *Kakṣaputatantra*, *Kaṅkālītantra*, *Kapālatantra*, *Kāmaratnatantra*, *Kāmākhyātantra*, *Kāśyapatantra*, *Kumāratantra*, *Kumārītantra*, *Kokatantra*, *Kauśikītantra*, *Kramadīpikātantra*, *Gāruḍatantra*,<sup>10</sup> *Garuḍapurāṇa*, *Gāruḍītantra*, *Gorakṣatantra*, *Gaurīkāñcalikātantra*, *Gaurītantra*, *Gaurīpāñcālikā*, *Culukītantra*, *Jambhālītantra*, *Jīvakantra*, *Ḍamarutantra*, *Ḍākatantra*, *Ḍāmaratantra*, *Ḍāmarītantra*, *Ḍomaratantra*, *Tantrāyurveda*,<sup>11</sup> *Toḍalatantra*, *Tārātantra*, *Tārāpra-*

<sup>8</sup> If a name is quoted in different forms, the fullest quoted form has been given.

<sup>9</sup> Or is this to be understood as a copulative compound?

<sup>10</sup> Vol. 1, p.84 given as *Gaṇuratantra*, i.e. *Gaḍuratantra*, p.215 as *Gāṇuratantra*, i.e. *Gāḍuratantra*.

<sup>11</sup> See note 9.

*dīpa*, *Tārārahasya*, *Trilokasāra Tantra*, *Dhātrī Tantra*, *Nāga Tantra*, *Nāgārjun Tantra*, *Nimita Tantra*, *Nimeṣa Tantra*, *Nilā Tantra*, *Prayoga-cintāmaṇi*, *Prayogaratnāvalī*, *Phetkārā Tantra*, *Pheruta Tantra*, *Bījacintāmaṇi Tantra*, *Bhānuta Tantra*, *Bhārgavī Tantra*, *Bhūtaḍāmarā Tantra*, *Bhairavī Tantra*, *Bhoja Tantra*, *Bhrāmarī Tantra*, *Matsya Tantra*, *Matsya-sūktayoga*,<sup>12</sup> *Mantramahodadhī Tantra*, *Mahākālā Tantra*, *Mātṛkā Tantra*, *Māyā Tantra*, *Mārutī Tantra*, *Mālinī Tantra*, *Meruta Tantra*, *Yāmalā Tantra*, *Yoga Tantra*, *Yoga pradīpa*, *Yoga māyā Tantra*, *Yogaratnākara*, *Yogaratnāvalī*, *Yoga sārā Tantra*, *Yoginī Tantra*, *Rudrayāmala*, *Rohiṇī Tantra*, *Lalāṭā Tantra*, *Lalitā Tantra*, *Vajrayoginī Tantra*, *Vārāhī Tantra*, *Vārddhukī Tantra*, *Vāsiṣṭha Tantra*, *Videha Tantra*, *Viśvasāra Tantra*, *Vṛddhabhānuta Tantra*, *Vṛddhaśārṅgadharā Tantra*, *Śamīkā Tantra*, *Śākinī Tantra*, *Śābarā Tantra*, *Śāmbhavī Tantra*, *Śārṅgadharā Tantra*, *Śikhi-mayūra Tantra*, *Śivā Tantra*, *Śivā Tantra*, *Śivadāsa* (i.e. seemingly Śivadāsasena's commentary on *Cakradatta*), *Ṣaṣṭhī Tantra*, *Sarva-vijayī Tantra*, *Siddhayoga Tantra*, *Simhikā Tantra*,<sup>13</sup> *Saugatā Tantra*, *Hārīta Saṃhitā*, *Herambā Tantra*.

Apart from these works, the *Caraka Saṃhitā* and the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* (and maybe other works too) have sporadically been referred to for purposes of comparison. Alchemical works (i.e. works on *Rasaśāstra* or *Rasā Tantra*) have not been utilized, as the author himself points out (vol. 2, p.[10] of the introduction). On the other hand, individual diseases or disorders and their treatment are often also discussed on the basis of additional material seemingly stemming from the author's personal knowledge of medicine. Mostly the original Sanskrit is quoted and a Bengali translation appended, though a few times only a Bengali translation or paraphrase is given.

All in all an awe-inspiring collection of material! Unfortunately, its value is greatly diminished by the fact that the references usually are simply to the name of the work cited, no other information of any sort (also not on what editions were used) being given. At other times the reference is just to 'Āyurveda', 'Tantra' or 'Purāṇa' in general, with no individual text being named. Worst of all are those cases in which even such a vague reference is lacking (this is especially so in the *Pathyā-pathya* section of vol. 3; cf. p.232 above). Thus the reader is in no

<sup>12</sup> Vol. 1, p.143 mentions a *Matsūktā Tantra*; a misprint?

<sup>13</sup> Vol. 2, p.89 also twice: *Siṣhitā Tantra*.



position to verify the quotations given, or to check on the context of a quotation, without laborious hunting through often quite voluminous texts which may even be available in different recensions. Even if all the material spread out should be stored in full in the author's memory, it can hardly be expected that exactly the same texts should be part of the memory of the reader, be he an Indian or a foreigner. Of course one may hold that for the chief purpose of the work, namely to provide the general populace with comparatively cheap and readily available medicines and remedies for specific diseases or disorders, no exact references are necessary, but it does seem a pity that such a prodigious amount of learning and labour should be of only limited use to other scholars. Thus it is to be hoped that a second edition, should it ever appear, might attempt to correct this deficiency; in any case, others thinking of embarking on a similar enterprise should earnestly consider expending just a little bit of additional labour to bring forth something of fullest utility to their fellow scholars, for it seems a crying shame that such a veritable treasure trove of learning should not be fully utilisable.

The volumes do not have any index; there is also no bibliography. But they harbour various misprints, which are not noted in any corrigenda except for four(!) misprints being pointed out on p.6 of the publisher's preface to vol. 1.

These shortcomings do not however in any way diminish the merit of this fine achievement of Bengali scholarship, and it is to be hoped that it will have many emulators.

*Rahul Peter Das*

Poonam Bala, *Imperialism and Medicine in Bengal. A Socio-Historical Perspective*. Sage Publications: New Delhi/Newbury Park/London 1991. ISBN 81-7036-245-8 and 0-8039-9100-2. 174 pp. £ 25.00 (British price).

There are only a few books which address the complex problem of medicine in India under British rule in a sophisticated manner using the most recent approaches in area studies and in the history of medicine. Roger Jeffrey's *The Politics of Health in India* (Berkeley 1988), David Arnold's *Colonising the Body, State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley 1993), and Mark Harrison's *Public Health in British India* (Cambridge 1994) are three such examples, for they succeed in integrating the multifaceted nature of Indian and British politics and medicine and also show a mastery of primary and secondary

sources. Unfortunately, Poonam Bala's book fails on these counts. Her *Imperialism and Medicine in Bengal* has been developed from her University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis. There is in it a core of probably one publishable article of around twenty pages on the socio-economic analysis of educational provision in general and medical education in particular for Hindu and Muslim Indians in Bengal, whereas the rest is very general history, already known, together with some padding, so that the book finally reaches 145 pages without its appendices. The author has either been badly advised or has rushed into print despite any advice to the contrary, feeling perhaps the modern pressure to publish at all costs.

The proposed readership of the book was probably both Indian and English; this may have posed a problem for the author, and possibly explains the essentially introductory nature of what is presented as a research monograph. We are given accounts of indigenous medicine in ancient and mediaeval India which are perfunctory in the extreme. When the book gets to the nineteenth century it presents some useful information on medical education in the Native Medical Institution and the changing value put on Western and indigenous drugs by the British authorities, and it records some of the attempts by the British to employ indigenous practitioners. Bala makes some perceptive comments, for instance, that the co-existence of Western and Indian medicine (both Ayurvedic and Unani) owed much to their common basis of treatment and diagnosis, and that, although the British did not support medical education in the indigenous systems after the Macauley Minute of 1835, it was not until the advent of scientific medicine with the bacteriological revolution of the latter nineteenth century that Indian medicine was viewed by the British (and some Indians) as inferior. She also has interesting things to say on the Ayurvedic movement of the early twentieth century which was tied into the Indian nationalist movement. But whether it 'failed to bring encomiums to indigenous medicine' (p.89) because it failed to create an educational and professional infrastructure along the lines of Western medicine is debatable. Respectability does not only consist in aping Western systems of medical organisation, though for some Indians at the time this may have been the case. Historians and those concerned with medicine in non-Western countries would do well to be cautious in using such criteria.

A useful part of the book details the way the *bhadralok*, the 'respectable people' or 'gentlemen' of the upper castes of Bengal, took up British medicine and education. Bala details the vicissitudes of Brit-



ish government support for Western style education and its uptake by different castes and religious groups. More analysis is needed as to why British education and medicine were attractive to particular groups of Indians; for instance, did they clearly differentiate between the older Western environmental and humoral medicine and the newer bacteriological one? (It took time for the British in India to do so.) There is very little analysis of Indian sources which reflect Indian points of view, whether in English or Indian languages (in fact, the utilisation of works in Indian languages seems not to have been considered worthwhile at all by Bala).

It is not pleasant to be very critical of the work of a young scholar. But this book has little to recommend it. Apart from its descriptive and rather superficial account of research findings on the uptake of British medical education in Bengal, its introductory material, of which there is a great deal (for instance, on British sanitary policy in Britain as well as on the course of British and Indian medicine in India), is often naïve and lacks the sense of authoritative and well judged synthesis which would make it attractive to at least a student readership.

*Andrew William Wear*

K.H. Krishnamurthy, *A Source Book of Indian Medicine: An Anthology*. B.R. Publishing Corporation: Delhi 1991. ISBN 81-7018-612-9. xiii;547 pp. Rs. 390.—.

This anthology contains passages not only from those texts usually classed as medical, but also from others, viz. Vedic works, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Arthaśāstra*, etc. The material is arranged subject-wise in nineteen chapters which deal not only with the various matters medicine is primarily concerned with (as a rule in general; i.e. individual diseases and cures are usually not discussed), but also with the background and organisation of medicine in ancient India, its role in society, and so on. Each chapter contains quotations in Nāgarī script,<sup>14</sup> followed by an English translation, which is sometimes augmented by an explanation. When Sanskrit words are reproduced in Latin script, no diacritics are as a rule used, though these have been added here and there, albeit not al-

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<sup>14</sup> Cases such as no.22 on p.83, where the original quotation has been left out, are probably mistakes due to oversight.

ways correctly. The transcription is several times not correct either; thus we have, for instance, *āyu* in the place of *āyus*, *satva* (also *sātva* on p.107) for *sattva*, *marma* for *marman*, etc. (words are as a rule given in their stem forms). But though such things might irritate Sanskritists, the general reading public, for whom this work seems after all meant, should not be distracted too much by them.

The translations given are usually in clear and correct English; the typical characteristics of Indian English are found here and there, but only rarely. As regards the accuracy of the translations, in a work such as this one does not expect these to be based on independent and thorough philological investigation, but rather to reproduce the current, and from a scholarly point of view not always accurate, opinions on the works and passages cited. However, despite the occasional slip (for instance 'tone' for *sāra*- on pp.120f.), this book tries to avoid reproducing those pet notions of modern Indian Āyurvedic apologists which often lead to highly inaccurate and misleading reproductions (cf. in this regard also *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3.1993, p.66, n.17); rather, it prefers to leave difficult or unclear terms untranslated, though there are nevertheless a few idiosyncracies such as 'oestrus' for the procreatory-menstrual fluid *śonita*- (p.198). Thus all in all the work may serve well as a general introduction to the matter for interested persons; it is only the last chapter (pp.515-537: 'Historical Background. References from the Vedas') of which one should be wary, as this contains much matter that is typically apologetic.

The passages quoted usually have exact source references, but in the case of some such exact references are lacking; a particularly glaring example is pp.226-228, where almost all passages are identified only by the titles of the works extracted from. The list of abbreviations on p.xiii is incomplete; 'Ss.', for instance, which obviously refers to the *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, is missing, as also are the abbreviations for the various *sthānas* in the medical texts. There is also no information on the editions of individual texts used. The work contains a subject index on pp.539-547, but this could have been much more comprehensive. Indexes of Sanskrit terms and of passages quoted are not given; there are also several misprints, though none seems to be serious.

Rahul Peter Das



Priya Vrat Sharma, *Ṣoḍaśāṅgahṛdayam. Essentials of Āyurveda. Text with English Translation*. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers: Delhi 1993. ISBN 81-208-0978-5. lxiii;307 pp. Rs. 290.—.

Though modern Āyurveda is of course not the Āyurveda of the "classical" texts,<sup>15</sup> it is nevertheless no less Āyurveda than the latter. It is possible to argue about the exact status of modern Āyurveda in South Asia today, but no one can gainsay the fact that it has proved to be remarkably resilient, adapting to the needs and exigencies of modern times and transforming itself accordingly. In this process, probably no other centre of Āyurvedic knowledge has played a more important role than Benares, of which Arion Roşu has justly written: 'Bénarès se révèle à notre époque comme une confluence privilégiée de courants āyurvédiques ... et rayonne dans l'Inde entière.'<sup>16</sup> It therefore seems fitting that it should be a renowned Āyurvedic scholar from Benares, Priya Vrat Sharma, who took upon himself the task of setting forth the principles of modern Āyurveda, in a traditional form, but from the point of view of the modern system and not the "classical" one.

According to Sharma, modern Āyurveda incorporates nine *aṅga*-s not found in the older system, whilst at the same time it has discarded one of the traditional eight *aṅga*-s. Thus, modern Āyurveda is composed of sixteen *aṅga*-s in all: Kāyacikitsā, Kaumārabhṛtya, Agadatantra, Śalyatantra, Śālākyatantra, Rasāyana, Vājikaraṇa, Maulikasiddhānta, Śārīra, Dravyaguṇa, Bheṣajakalpanā, Rasaśāstra, Rogavijñāna, Svasthavṛtta, Mānasaroga and Prasūtitantra-Strīroga (see p.lix of the book under review). Several years ago, Sharma published a Sanskrit work in sixteen chapters, aptly called *Ṣoḍaśāṅgahṛdaya*, on the essence of modern Āyurveda; his Sanskrit verses were accompanied by a Hindi translation from his pen.<sup>17</sup> He has now followed this up with a re-issue of the Sanskrit text, this time with his own English translation, to which he also wrote an introduction (the former work has none); this introduction attempts

<sup>15</sup> On this matter cf. e.g. *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* 3.1993, pp.56-71, as well as the essay of Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld above in this volume.

<sup>16</sup> On p.405 of: Arion Roşu, 'Les traditions āyurvédiques à Bénarès aux temps modernes', *Indologica Taurinensia* 12.1984, pp.399-405.

<sup>17</sup> Priyavratāśarman, *Ṣoḍaśāṅgahṛdayam. Āryāvṛttabaddham āyurvedavivaraṇātma-kam. Svopajñahindīvyākhyopetam*. Vārāṇasī V.S. 2044.

*inter alia* to show that despite all innovations Āyurveda continues to be basically the same system it has been for centuries.

In the first work each Sanskrit verse was followed by the corresponding Hindi translation; in the new book the whole English translation is printed first, and then followed by the complete Sanskrit text. There is also an appendix containing the botanical names of plants the text mentions. The identifications of Sanskrit plant names are one to one, with no reasons being adduced for choosing these particular identifications, though one may deduce that this is because what we have here are only modern and less controversial identifications — which do not necessarily tell us anything about older times. The work is well printed and contains an index.

Rahul Peter Das

Beatrice Vogt Frýba, *Können und Vertrauen. Das Tovil-Heilritual von Sri Lanka als kultureigene Psychotherapie*. Chur/Zürich: Verlag Rüegger 1991. (Ethnologische Schriften Zürich, Ethnologisches Seminar der Universität Zürich 11.) ISBN 3-7253-0401-7 and 3-909105-20-3. 486 pp. SFr 54.—.

This work depicts the practice of healing rituals in Sri Lanka, and is based on ethno-psychological fieldwork from 1985 to 1988. Beatrice Vogt Frýba is a psychologist with a theoretical interest in — and experience with — western psychotherapy (J.L. Moreno, H. Petzold, and others). It is her endeavour to represent the Sinhalese *Yak tovil* as a culture-specific kind of psychotherapeutic system which is embedded in Buddhist cosmology and is organised according to principles, concepts and ethics of Buddhist philosophy, i.e. of the *Abhidhamma*.

The materials presented to the readers consist of (1) a description of a number of rituals observed by the author (especially the *Sohona* or *Mahasōnā* ritual), (2) interviews with victims of demonic attacks, (3) an exploration of the knowledge of her main informant, Upasena Gurunanse, who is a well-known ritual performer in the Kandy area of Sri Lanka, (4) an appendix with three interviews with Upasena Gurunanse by the author's husband, Mirko Frýba (pp.407-426), and (5) concepts and paradigms in the *Abhidhamma*. The *Abhidhamma* concepts are integrated in the presentation as a heuristic vehicle in translating the indigenous healing experiences of lay Sinhalese Buddhists to an academic and western readership. B.V. Frýba argues that the concepts selected for presentation are those which are present as actual



knowledge of the healers: 'als kultureigene Psychologie ... [werden] ... nur jene Konzepte und Paradigmen des buddhistischen Kanons erörtert, die auch im Wissen der *Yakāduro* vorkommen' (p.76), and she explains that her 'Heuristik empirischer Forschung ... [muß] ... der Forschung die ideellen Welten des Patienten und des Heilers als *ihren*, mehr oder weniger miteinander geteilten, Kosmos erfassen, der durch ihre *kultur-eigene Epistemologie* geordnet ist' (note 23). The argument is that the ritual healing practices of Sinhalese Buddhists must be explained with Buddhist concepts, since Buddhism is the cosmological context which frames the healing practices.

After three chapters of an introductory nature which present the Sinhalese healing rituals, the healers and the traditional health care system in Sri Lanka, Frýba devotes herself to a theoretical argumentation for a culture-specific psychology (chapter 4) and for her thesis that the *Yak tovil* must be conceived of as a kind of psychotherapy (chapter 5). Following these chapters, which integrate fieldwork observations and references to the *Abhidhamma*, the rest of the work is devoted to a representation of the *Yak tovil*, primarily organised from the perspective of the therapist, i.e. from the experience and position of the healer, the *Yakadurā*. The last two chapters (10 and 11) explain the performances and the ethics of Upasena Gurunnanse. In chapters 7 and 8 the Buddhist context of the *Yak tovil* is discussed, and these two chapters build the argumentation for chapter 9, which is the most substantial of the book. It presents the author's original material, collected during her fieldwork, consisting of interviews and observations of three different healing rituals for three patients: Sita, Simon and Duva. A detailed sequential analysis of the *Sohona* healing ritual for Duva is presented in chapter 9.3, including the *hat aḍiya* (seven steps), which has also been described by O. Pertold (1929), P. Wirz (1954) and B. Kapferer (1988).

The occurrence of the *hat aḍiya* in the ritual sequence for Duva might suggest that Duva suffered from a sorcery attack. The author discusses sorcery ('schwarze Magie') on p.339 in the context of a presentation of Upasena Gurunnanse's so-called 'Diagnosegespräch' with Duva ahead of the actual performance. From the author's own account, this possibility is briefly mentioned in connection with a yantra buried in the garden of a patient (pp.339-340), but not fully taken into the analysis. The ritual is identified by Frýba as a *Sohona* healing ritual according to the demon who has possessed Duva (*Mahasōnā*), but it may be a counter-sorcery ritual (a *Hūniyama*). If this is the case, then sorcery is

the organising principle of the healing ritual.

Frýba has succeeded in communicating her fascination and her respect for indigenous healing practices in Sri Lanka to her readers, and psychologists and psychotherapists will find many insights and detailed information and observations. The representation is in many ways more respectful and more sensitive to the ideas and orientations of healers and patients than most anthropological representations of healing rituals. Frýba's work is an important contribution to the ethnography of Sinhalese Buddhist rituals in the central highlands of Sri Lanka (Kandy), which have been somewhat neglected by anthropologists who have been more attracted to the mask performances in the lowlands of southern Sri Lanka.

The author has intergrated the work of anthropologists like G. Obeyesekere and B. Kapferer and of Indologists like R. Gombrich, but with few theoretical reservations and without much resistance on her part. Her representation is transparent to the anthropological standpoint since M.M. Ames (1964) that the ritual practices of lay Buddhists form part of a total system including practices of trance, astrology and Āyurveda, and that the so-called "little tradition" of popular Buddhism should not be seen as something separate from or alien to the tradition of Theravāda Buddhism found in Sri Lanka. Without engaging herself in a theoretical debate, Frýba takes this position even further in claiming that Upasena Gurunnanse has a knowledge of the philosophical concepts of the *Abhidhamma*, and that these concepts explain his ritual performances.

Since this claim organises Frýba's representation of the healing practices, the reader may have wanted the author to have documented the Buddhist references in the healing rituals which she has observed. Frýba presents a selection of ritual *kavis* (ritual songs) which have been performed in the rituals, but this selection of *kavis* does not substantiate her argument that the philosophical insight of the *Abhidhamma* into mental processes is present in the rituals, and an analysis of a broader selection of *kavis* may prove that healing rituals are related to other parts of the canon like the *Jātaka* stories. This is indeed more likely, since the *Jātaka* stories are upheld by the laity and the local traditions — unlike the knowledge of *Abhidhamma* concepts, which is almost exclusively reproduced by the scholarly monks.

As Frýba's representation stands now, the reader has to have faith in her basic argument about the impact of *Abhidhamma* concepts. He



must trust that the author has not projected the *Abhidhamma* concepts upon Upasena Gurunnanse, and that the knowledge and wisdom of the informant are truly his own, and not those of the author.

The book certainly demonstrates that a penetrating insight into the complexity of the *Yak tovil* has evolved in the relationship between the fieldworker and her informant.

*Jørgen Østergård Andersen*

## Other Publications Received

'A-mdo dge-hdun chos-hphel: see Gedün Chöpel.

**Anwarul Karim:** *The Myths of Bangladesh*. Kushtia: Folklore Research Institute 1988. xi; 157 pp. Tk 150.—/US-\$ 15.—. <Pp.1-48: "Shamanism in Bangladesh".>

**Arnold, David (ed.):** *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*. Delhi/Bombay/Calcutta/Madras: Oxford University Press 1989. ISBN 0-19-562415-7. viii; 231 pp. <Reprint of Manchester University Press edition, 1988. On previous colonies; has several articles on India.>

*Aspects of Classical Tibetan Medicine*. Gangtok: Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology 1993. Bulletin of Tibetology, Special Volume of 1993. [8]; II; 128 pp. Rs 245.—. <Six articles on Tibetan and Mongolian medicine.>

**Asshauer, Egbert:** *Heilkunst vom Dach der Welt. Tibets sanfte Medizin*. Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder 1993. ISBN 3-451-22989-7. 251 pp. DM 39.80.

**Asshauer, Egbert:** see also **Tsarong, Tsewang J.**

**Balasubramanian, A.V.:** see **Dharmalingam, V.**

**Balbir, Nalini:** see *Genres littéraires en Inde*.

**Bennet, S.S.R.:** *Name Changes in Flowering Plants of India And Adjacent Regions*. Dehra Dun: Triseas Publishers 1987. xvi; 772 pp. Rs 480.—/US-\$ 60.—.

*Bhār'tīya āyur'ved yog saṃgrah. Bhāg 2*. Nāi Dillī: Bhārat Sar'kr, Svāsthya aur Parivār Kalyāṇ Mamtrālay 1990. xxxix; 205 pp. £ 11.05/US-\$ 33.48 (foreign price; the Indian price could not be ascertained). <P.xvii of the "āmukh" by E.En. Nām'jośī: "... pratham bhāg meṃ un pramukh yogom kā saṃk'lan hai jo atyadhik mātṛā meṃ nirmīṭ kiye jāte haiṃ aur un'kā prayog deś bhar ke cikitsakom dvārā adhik'tar kiyā jātā hai. ... dvitīya bhāg meṃ un yogom ko sammilit kiyā gayā hai jo śāstrīya haiṃ tathā rāj'kiya cikitsālay aur auśadhālayom meṃ mukhyatayā prayog kiye jāte haiṃ.">

**Bhāvamiśra:** *ŚrīmalLāṭakanatanayaśrīBhāvamiśraviracitaḥ* [sic] *Bhāvaprakāśa[h]*. Śrī Lālāsāligrām Vaiśya kṛt hindī ṭikā sahit evaṃ ... Kāntinārāyaṇ Miśr ... dvārā saṃsodhit. Bambaī: Khem'rāj Śrīkṛṣṇ'dās Prakāśan 1989. 8; 48; 1328 pp. Rs 200.—.

**[Blo-bzañ nor-bu]:** *Bod-ljoṅs gso-rig-gi pho-bahi me-drod skor-gyi rnam-bśad*. [Lhasa]: Bod-ljoṅs mi-dmaṅs dpe-skrun-khañ 1991. ISBN 7-223-00393-6/R·16. [6]; 31 pp. Yüan 0.70. <On digestion.>

**Blo-bzañ sñan-grags:** *bśad-rgyud-kyi hgrel-pa blo-gsal ñag-gi sgron-me*. Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khañ 1989. ISBN 7-105-00496-7/R·10. 4; 472 pp. Yüan 4.90. <Commentary on the second book of the Rgyud bži.>

*Bod-kyi sman-rčis ched-rčom phyogs-bsdus*. Bod rañ-skyoñ-ljoṅs sman-rčis-khañ-gis brčams. Lhasa: Bod-ljoṅs mi-dmaṅs dpe-skrun-khañ 1986. [7]; 426 pp. Yüan 1.80. <Collection of fourteen articles on medicine and five articles on astrology.>

**Bose, T.K.; Mitra, S.K. (ed.):** *Fruits: Tropical and Subtropical*. Calcutta: Naya Prokash 1990. ISBN 81-85421-02-1. [18]; 838 pp. + many plates. Rs 850.—.

**bśad-sgrub rgya-mcho:** see **mKhyen-rab nor-bu**.

*Bulletin of the Indian Institute of History of Medicine. Volume XXI No.1 January, 1991 and Volume XXI No. 2 July, 1991*. Hyderabad: Indian Institute of History of Medicine. 166 (1-98 and 99-166 respectively) pp. + xxi pp. and 1 plate in No. 2. Rs 60.—. <Contents:



P. Hymavathi, "Narasimhapandita"; Hakim Mohammed Said, "The Greek Factor in Muslim Pharmacy, A Survey"; Donald Warren, "The Bengali Context" [in this study of homoeopathy in Bengal the bibliography of works referred to is unfortunately missing]; S. Mahdihassan, "The Term Tria Prima of Paracelsus Explained and Justified"; Momin Ali and S.A. Hussain, "Medical Manuscripts of Qutub Shahi Period in the Libraries of Hyderabad, Part III"; S.M. Kamaluddin Hussain Hamdani, "The Basic Principles of Unani Medicine"; Laxmipuram P. Srivatsa, "Amanusha Syndrome"; Samir Yahia El-Gammal, "Folk-traditional Antidiabetic Herbs"; D.V. Subba Reddy, "History of Medicine in India" [reprint]; K. Swayam Pr[a]kasam, "Treatment of Anaemia with Special Reference to Iron in Ancient Indian Medicine Ayurveda: A Historical Perspective"; Vladimir Karpenko, "From Metals to Human Beings: Medical Aspects of European Alchemy"; Mahdihassan, "The Doctrine of the Identity of Opposites as Indicating the Sources of Pathological Germs"; Samir Yahia El-Gammal, "Henna and Psoriasis"; S.A. Hussain, "Medicine under the Royal Patronage of Asafia Kings"; Momin Ali, "Principles, Methods and Importance of Literary Research in the History of Ayurveda"; Review; News.>

*Bulletin of the Indian Institute of History of Medicine. Volume XXII No. 1, January 1992 and Volume XXII No. 2, July 1992.* Hyderabad: Indian Institute of History of Medicine. 162 (1-81 and 82-162 respectively) pp. Rs 60.-. <Contents: V.J. Thakar, "Gleanings from Śukla Yajurveda"; B. Rama Rao, "Some Views Based on the Survey of Medical Manuscripts and Practitioners"; S. Mahdihassan, "The Concepts of Use and Beauty as Corresponding with those of Reality and Appearance"; Samir Yahia El-Gammal, "Roots of Andalusian Islamic Medicine in the European Civilisation"; S.M. Azizuddin Hussain, "Hakim Ziyauddin Nakshabi's Contribution to Unani Medicine During 14th Century in India"; Momin Ali and S.A. Hussain, "Medical Manuscripts of Qutub Shahi Period in the Libraries of Hyderabad. Part IV"; P.K.J.P. Subhaktha, "Cakrapāṇidatta"; Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Varāhamihira and Ayurveda"; P. Hymavathi, "Child-Birth and Child-Care in Medieval Andhra Society"; B. Mukhopadhyay and K.R. Sharma, "History of Cataract Surgery"; Samir Yahia El-Gammal, "Therapy and Medicaments by Ibn Al-Nafis"; Naimuddin Zubairy and Aftab Saeed and M. Afzal Rizvi, "Razi's Treatise Bar-us-Sa'ah on First Aid and some Medicinal Plants used to Assist such Conditions"; S.A. Husain, "History of Ayurveda in 'Islami Tibb'"; Momin Ali, "Introduction to Mādhavanidāna"; Reviews; News.>

**Byams-pa phrin-las:** see **mKhyen-rab nor-bu.**

**Cabezón, José Ignacio** (ed.): *Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender.* Albany: State University of New York Press 1992. ISBN 0-7914-07578 (hardcover) and 0-7914-0758-6 (paperback). xix; 41 pp. <Ten essays by as many scholars.>

*Caraka-Samhitā by the Great Sage Bhagavata Agniveśa Thoroughly revised by Mahārṣi Caraka and Dr̥dhavala [sic] with 'Āyurvedadīpikā' Commentaries of Śrīmat Cakrapāṇidatta and 'Jalpakaḷpataru' Explanatory Notes and Annotations of Mahamahopādhyāya Śrī Gaṅgādhara [sic] Kaviratna Kavirāja.* Edited and Revised by Narendranath Sengupta & Balaichandra Sengupta. Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia 1991. Vidyavilasa Ayurveda Series 1. 2(in vol.1); (12) (in vol. 1 and vol. 3) and (27) (in vol.

4); 3828 pp. Rs 1000.— (revised price for complete set of 5 volumes). <“Reproduction of the earlier edition of the [sic] C.K. Sen, Calcutta [Śaka 1849-1855, in three volumes].”>

**Chatterjee, Asima; Pakrashi, Satyesh Chandra:** *The Treatise on Indian Medicinal Plants. Volume 1.* New Delhi: Publications & Information Directorate 1991. ISBN 81-7236-011-8. xxix; 172 pp.

**Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad:** *History of Science and Technology In Ancient India. Formation of the Theoretical Fundamentals of Natural Science.* ... (with invited contributions). Calcutta: Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd. 1991. xxi; 593 pp. Rs 625.—. <Actually the second volume of this work, the first volume (“The Beginnings”) appeared in 1986.>

**Chöpel, Gedün:** see **Gedün Chöpel.**

**Chos-grags rgya-mcho:** see **Yon-tan rgya-mcho.**

**Dak, T.M. (ed.)** *Sociology of Health in India.* Jaipur/New Delhi: Rawat Publications 1991. ISBN 81-7033-118-9. ix; 536 pp. Rs 475.—. <31 essays.>

**Dash, Bhagwan:** *Illustrated Materia Medica of Indo-Tibetan Medicine.* Delhi: Classics India Publication[s] 1987. Indo-Tibetan Medicine Series 1. ISBN 81-85132-00-3. xvi; 647 pp.

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**Dash, Bhagwan:** *Massage Therapy in Ayurveda.* New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company 1992. Pañcakarma Therapy of Ayurveda Series 1. ISBN 81-7022-380-6. 192 pp.

**Dash, Bhagwan:** *Pharmacopoeia of Tibetan Medicine.* Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications 1994. Indian Medical Science Series 17. ISBN 81-7030-388-5. xxxxiv[sic]; 301 pp.

**[Dehu-dmar bstan-hjin phun-čhogs]:** *Śel-gon śel-phren.* Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khan 1986. 33; 537 pp. Yüan 3.10. <Text edition.>

**Deshpande, S.H.:** *Physical Education in Ancient India.* Delhi/Varanasi: Bharatiya Vidya Pakashan [sic] 1992. ISBN 81-217-0064-7. xi; 325pp. Rs 600.—.

**Dge-hdun chos-hphel:** see **Gedün Chöpel.**

**Dharmalingam, V.; Radhika, M.; Balasubramanian, A.V.:** *Marma Chikitsa in Traditional Medicine.* ... with illustrations by Natesh. Madras: Lok Swaasthya <cover: Swasthya> Parampara Samvardham Samithi 1991. LSPSS Monograph 5. [6]; 75 pp. Rs 30.— (Rs 25.— for LSPSS members).

**Donden, Yeshi:** see **Yeshi Donden.**

**Dummer, Tom:** *Tibetan Medicine And Other Holistic Health-Care Systems.* London/ New York: Routledge 1988. ISBN 0-415-01278-3. xxiv; 307 pp. £ 8.95.

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